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FESTSCHRIFT FOR CHRISTOPHER WALKER ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 60TH BIRTHDAY

edited by Cornelia Wunsch

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That is why it is [illegible] for this festschrift.

[illegible] with what the dedicatee so [illegible]ently supported, making texts accessible

[illegible] and many happy and prod[illegible]

C. W.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

[illegible] versity of Pennsylvania Museum for permission to include hitherto unpublished materi[illegible] and to the museum assistants who patiently endured last minute demands for tablets. The [illegible]

C. W.

CONTENTS

Approaches to Akkadian Name-Giving in First Millennium BC Mesopotamia*

Hanne D. Baa[illegible] Hansen

Abstract

[illegible] of one issues involved in investigating Akkadian name-giving [illegible] respec[illegible] the first millennium BC

[illegible] *brother* [illegible] that is, 'brother' refers to a later [illegible] Dilbat

Recent years have seen major advances in the prosopographical study of cuneiform [illegible] BC [illegible] of *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (henceforth PNA) and for the Neo- and Late Babylonian period the publication of critical editions of [illegible] numbers of documents [illegible] lows is not an exhaustive study of first-millennium BC name-giving, but is intended to [illegible]

We [illegible] examination of naming within [illegible] and some concluding remarks. Since only Akkadian names are considered here, the complex question of the relationship [illegible] the use of ancestral or "family" names in first-millennium BC Babylonia is outside its scope.

Methodology

[illegible] regional variation and chronological development in name-giving patterns.[6] The city is a [illegible] the name repertoire of a city tends to be dominated by names formed with its principal deity as a theophoric [illegible]

[illegible] Nippur Murašû archive): Gehlken 1990–1996 ([illegible] private archives). While not all these studies are specifically prosopographical in content, never[illegible] names by foreign individuals settled in Assyria or Babylonia fo[illegible]

6 For example, the na[illegible] preponderance of names formed with Anu, hac[illegible] ancestry in the loca[illegible] correctly identified Oelsner 1981–84 has establishe[illegible] BC for the rise of Anu-names [illegible]

king, but preferred his given name.[13] The name embodied the element of legitimacy fi[illegible] [illegible] Assur [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Another [illegible] Nabonidus [illegible] priestess at Ur;[14] her given name is unknown.

N[illegible] associated with [illegible]

The historical implication of the existence of profession- or status-related names is that an individual either took [illegible] a new name when he was appointed to a certain position or status, or that he was destined to belong to a particular sector of society from an early age [illegible] slaves).[15]

[illegible] Neo-Assyrian [illegible] 2000 [illegible] these high officials as a group. It has been s[illegible]sted that the names of Assyrian *ša rēši* officials [illegible] Neo-Assyrian [illegible] relatively [illegible] general population: in the fascicles of PNA completed to date and covering names beginning with letters A–N, a total of 190 bearers of such names are attested, and only 10 of these are known to have been eunuchs (see Appendix 1). Even allowing for the fact that this total of 190 may well include some eunuchs who are not explicitly identified as *ša rēši* in the texts, th[illegible]es are hardly compelling. Names of the type DN-šarru-uṣur ("O DN, protect the k[illegible]" which ha[illegible] eunuch names," are in fact pa[illegible]ly common, with Marduk-šarru-uṣur, Nabû-šarru [illegible] these figures in perspective it is useful to look at the most frequently occurring Neo-Assyrian [illegible]

---

13 Despite the explicit statement of intent in SAA 12 88 [illegible] my son, who henceforth shall be called [illegible]

14 See e.g., CT 36 P[illegible] *ma*, "... (daughter whom) I app[illegible]

15 Slave names differ as a group fro[illegible] to the free population. See Stamm 1939 307ff. for the Neo- and Late Babylonian [illegible] Dandamaev 1984, 108ff., 472 refers to the [illegible] the types of names given to Neo-Babylonian [illegible]

[illegible] question of [illegible] combined with the fact that certain [illegible] Assyrian and Babylonia[illegible]

[illegible] approximate, they are subject to the intractable difficu[illegible]

Table 1: Names occurring most frequently in PNA 1–2 (A–N)

Nabû'a	102	Nabû-eriba	52	Mannu-kî-Arbail	36
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	35
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nabû-šuma-iddina	58	Marduk-šarru-uṣur	39	Mannu-kî-ahhē	34
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	33
Nabû-aḫa-iddina	50	[illegible]	[illegible]		
Nanî	50	[illegible]			

[illegible] to differ more markedly from the remainder of the population. However, if they were [illegible] already decided or even accomplished [illegible] of drawing false historical conclusions about na[illegible]ups, unless [illegible] to the wider popula[illegible]

In contrast to Ass[illegible] names in Neo-Babylonian Sippar seems [illegible] 00: 108–12) remarked that *šarru* is a common [illegible]

[illegible] viduals attested in tablets from Ur dating from [illegible]

[illegible] Attestations derived from lists of personal names are excluded from the count [illegible]

9 For the sake of completeness Appendix 2 includes all names of eunu[illegible] only the Akkadian ones that are the su[illegible] Akkadian names are [illegible]

[10] [illegible]

[11] [illegible]

[illegible] However, the fact [illegible] two [illegible] associated [illegible] of personal names is highly suggestive; a direct link between their profession and their names seems likely.

d. Alternative names or "nicknames"

[illegible] but names of a derivation altogether different from the primary name of [illegible] [illegible] was not the [illegible] known example is the [illegible]

e. Names of restricted use

The possibility that certain names, particularly those belonging to members of the [illegible] name his son Assurbanipal; a second denunciation on the same tablet is rather broken but [illegible] planning to do so, was a strict taboo.

[illegible] borne by the Sargonid kings.[26] To the best of my knowledge there are no other Neo-

2 See Wiggerman 2000.

3 [illegible] 2001, 110f. (1 "Doppelnamen" belong to this category of abbreviated names.

24 [illegible] Marduk-nāṣir-apli = Sirku, Nergal-usezib [illegible] 1939: 15, 22.

25 The idea of Ungnad (1935: 321) [illegible] names borne by women were given by their husband after marriage can be discounted. In the first case cited by Ungnad (Amat Nūhil = ᶠGigitu) both names were used interchangeably rather than successively: the woman is known as ᶠGigitu [illegible] tion of her husband in the document suggests that it was a provision in advance of any actual [illegible] native names for the same woman. For further discussion con[illegible]

26 Note that Edzard 1998: 98 [illegible] served a similar phenomenon in Sumerian name-giving with names such as Eannatum and [illegible] being borne only by the well-known rulers.

[illegible] Then [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] Sargon [illegible] Sennacherib [illegible] attested [illegible] who might [illegible] have been born and [illegible] before [illegible]

In Babylonia also [illegible] The following table shows a number of [illegible] Nabonidus [illegible] such individuals born after the acces[illegible] person, the father of a man know[illegible] born and named before Nabonid[illegible]

Table 2: Commoners [illegible] Nabonidus [illegible]

		[illegible]	[illegible]
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4	s. Aqara	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	desc. Bēliya[illegible] f. Bē[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	f. Nabû[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	desc. Marduk[illegible] f. N[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	s. Nabû[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	f. N[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1[illegible]	desc. Išpar[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14	s. Mannu[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	s. Nabû-gamil [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

28 [illegible]

17.	f. Nabû-šum-usur desc. Ilûta-bāni	L 4735: 10 = Joannes 1989: 259f.	564
18.	s. Iddinunu desc. Sangu-Nabû	TuM 2/3 212: 15, 22	562
19.	no filiation, *opat kitê*	Bongenaar 1997, 335	Nbk-Non/Cyr
20.	s. [illegible]	AUWE 5 132: r. 3	Nbk-Non
21.	desc. Re'i-alpi, f. Šamaš-uballiṭ (T9)	EvM 8: r. 13	561
		Text Reference	Date
22.	s. Bēl-iqiša (T1)	Ner 47, r. 11	557
23.	desc. Tābiku, f. Šūzubu (T8)	Nbn 4: r. 17	556
	desc. Balasu, f. Nabû-mukin-apli (T4)	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	
		[illegible]	[illegible]
25.	f. Arad-[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
27.	desc. Ea-nādin, f. Nabû-šum-eres	CM 20B 116: 19	548
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
28.	f. Nergal-aḫrid, desc. Arkat-ili-damqa	YOS 19 43: 3	544
29.	f. Remut, desc. Nur-Papsukkal	BRM 1 61: 14	Nbn
30.	desc. Le'a, f. Guzana (T6)	ZA 4 Bard. 1: r. 12	[illegible]
31.	f. [illegible]	TBER Pl. 18 AO 8160: 11	
32.	no filiation	TBER Pl. 1 AO [illegible]	

[illegible] BC suggests a rather deliberate [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] naming patterns [illegible] d. Note, for example, the female slave called Silangru (*Sir la-an-gi-ru₄*) in the Egibi property division tablet Dar 379 H, dated 510 BC; the [illegible] h the mind of the name-giver. Another Neo Babylonian example is the name Arad-^{e_2}ma KU[30] ("Servant of the ^{e_2}ma-KU"), borne by [illegible] individual on [illegible] nce, the son of Nabû-zēr-ušebši, descendant of Malāḫ ("Boatman").[31]

30. [illegible]
31. AHw. 1235; CAD [illegible]
32. On the reading of ^{e_2}ma KU, the barge of Marduk, see Lambert 2000 [illegible]

[illegible] pseudonyms

[illegible] (CT 54 493) used the name Narām-Sin as a [illegible] pseudonym.[35] [illegible] stances of the letter are unclear [illegible] assumption that [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Babylonian for the Neo-Assyrian material. It is then a fairly strai[illegible] [illegible] up is implied.[36]

If we wish [illegible] names within one generation of the same [illegible] of the sl[illegible] This is more complicated; the following case study draws on archival texts from Babylon of the [illegible]

When brothers are mentioned together [illegible] contracts, there is no reason to specify which of them is the older [illegible] a matter of inheritance or a similarly important [illegible] Nabû-uballit sells some land, it is described as "the share which N[illegible] with Iddin-Marduk, his elder brother, and with Nergal-zēr-ibni, [illegible] with Mukīn-Marduk, his [illegible]

[illegible] is not too surprising a fact, given that [illegible] scribes are named in [illegible]

[illegible] 530. The letter is badly bro[illegible]

35 A subject that formed part of [illegible]

36 See PNA II 140 [illegible] his contemporary, Ra[illegible]

37 CM 20A 128 2–5

38 See Wunsch 2000b on the [illegible] Wunsch 2001 on the "college" of notari[illegible]

In support of this, we also have the well-known Egibi letter, CT 22 6[39] in which [illegible] Itti-Marduk-balāṭu greets all six of his children: first his daughters Tašmētu-tabni and Ina-Esagil-bēlet, then his three sons Sirku, Lābāṣi and Pursu, and finally his youngest daughter Nanaya-erēšat. It is likely that this reflects the actual birth-order of the [illegible][40] The order of [illegible] of the sons, who are all known in this letter by their nicknames, [illegible] confirmed [illegible][41] [illegible] of seniority of the daughters, as implied by CT 22 6, is supported by the evidence of tablets documenting their dowries [illegible] to them.[42]

If we consider the [illegible] sixth to early fifth centuries BC Babylon in which the order of birth of the bro[illegible] retained according to the principles outlined above, then a pattern emerges [illegible] not been previously observed.

Table 3: Names of brothers according to order of birth

	1st brother	2nd brother	3rd brother	4th brother	5th brother
1.	?Moseṣib-Marduk	?Itti-Nabû-balāṭu	Nergal-iddin	Zababa-[illegible]	
2.	Itti-Marduk-balāṭu	Iddin-Nabû	Nergal-[illegible]		
3.	Iddin-Marduk	Nabû-uballiṭ	Nergal-zēr-ibni		
4.	Marduk-nāṣir-apli	Nabû-ahhe-bullit	Nergal-[illegible]		
5.	Marduk-šum-u[illegible]	[illegible]			
6.	Marduk-šumu-iddin-[illegible]				
[illegible]					
8.	Kudurru-Marduk	Nabû-mušetiq-uddê			

Notes [illegible]

[illegible] name and family name of the siblings listed are as follows:

1. Marduk-ban-zēri/Bēl-eṭir
2. Nabû-ahhē-iddin/Egibi
3. Nabû-mukīn-zēri/Aṣû
4. Itti-Marduk-balāṭu/Egibi
5. Šulaya/Ea-eppeš-ili
6. Nabû-ban-zēri/Nappāhu
7. Šapik-zēri/Nadin-se'im
8. Zēriya/Šangû-Gula
9. Nabû-zēru-iddin/Egibi

[illegible] quent than Marduk ones in Babylon at this period.[45] Note that

[illegible]

[illegible] Wunsch 1995: [illegible]

[illegible] e.g., Dar 379: 1; see A[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] In fact, names [illegible] with Nabû are almost twice as frequent as names formed with Marduk: [illegible]

[illegible] Bel [illegible] Marduk) Nabu and Nergal, alwa[illegible] although we know that Bel was another name for the deity Mar[illegible] prac-tices were concerned the elements "[illegible] same person called "Marduk-iddin [illegible]

What can be identified among these [illegible] families of Babylon is, of course, a pattern in name-giving rather than a rule. Except[illegible] and names formed with both N[illegible] [illegible] of nicknames, and by the early demise of one or more sibl[illegible]

[illegible] known Neo-Babylonian [illegible] Babylon at this period [illegible] ya, and of Bataṭu, descendant of Egibi [illegible] Zarpanitu (spouse of Marduk).[17] [illegible] pare names formed with [illegible] temple of Marduk

15 Note e.g. Remût-Gula [illegible] rapsāti and Mušezib-Marduk [illegible]

16 Both sons occur in BRM 1 6[illegible]

17 See e.g., Wunsch 1993b: 83 [illegible] s of 'Tašmetu-'abu and her [illegible] Kassaya desc. Kutimmu (see Roth 1991: 36f., Baker forthcoming)

18 VS 5 43-44, VS 45/46 [illegible]

19 [illegible] s now the female slave named 'Leṭka-idi-Zarpanitu in CM 20 no. 68 r. 9: [illegible] 'Leṭ-ka-i-di [illegible] Assyrian example is known [illegible]

Conclusions

[illegible] example, the changes in the onomasticon of late Achaemenid Uruk, which can be related to a reorganisation of the pantheon of that city.[51]

[illegible] Akkadian name into an English sentence, it should not be assumed *a priori* that the name [illegible] rious grandson, renowned champions of Babylonian independence? We cannot tell. But when we have the resources available to inte[illegible]stic evidence with historical data [illegible] of name-types and to relate them to their social and cultural context.

APPENDIX 1. Names formed with *šarru* in PNA vols 1–2 (A–N)[53]

Name	No. of name-bearers	No. of eunuch name-bearers
Abat-šarr-lā-tenni	1	
Abat-šarru-ēṭir	1	
Abat-šarru-uṣur	1	
Adad-šarru-balāṭ	1	
Adad-šarru-ibni	1	
[illegible]		

50 Compare, for example, the [illegible] of onomastic data in assessing the rate of Christianisation of Roman Egypt, as discussed by Bagnall 1995: 85–8[illegible]

51 [illegible] the Uruk pantheon in the Neo-Babylonian period (Beaulieu 1997: 57 n. 6[illegible]

52 [illegible] VS 4 93: r. 11[illegible]

53 [illegible] a divine epithet, such as Ea-šarru-ibni "Ea-the-king has created," or w[illegible] it is part of the divine [illegible]

Name	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
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[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
Marduk-sarru-[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	

APPENDIX 2: Eunuchs known by name in the Neo-Assyrian sources[54]

	Name	Title and other information	Date
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	
	Adad-isse'a	[illegible]	Adn III/Shal IV
5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]	[illegible]	Esar/Ab
5	Ahat-lamur 1[55]	lú.sag[1] (purchased by royal charioteer [illegible]	early Ab
	Ana-sarru-ibni 4	(contextual)	Ab
	Amurru-etir[56]	lu sag lu *ab-i-ni-ia* uru.bad [illegible]en-Ill	Abl
8	Aššur-belu-ka[illegible]in 5.	lú sag	Esar/Senn.
	Aššur-bēlu-uṣur 4.	lú sag] of Palil-ēres (gov. Rasappa; see 114.)	Adn III/Shal IV
1	Aššur-bunā'i-uṣur	lu sag gal lu kaš.lu/li	Snal II, SsA V
1	Aššur-da[illegible]'inanni 4.	"my eunuch" in royal inscr. gov. Mazamua, ep. 733	Tp III
1	Aššur-da[illegible]in sarru 1–2	lu sag (also diviner, with the title en urouš [illegible] eporter") and probably cupbearer (lu kaš.lu	Abl
1	Aššur-duru-uṣur 2.	lu sag of Bēl-dan (gov. Kalḫu)	Tp II
1	Aššur-[illegible]ṣa 4.	lu sag *ša* [illegible]	Ab
1	Aššur-nadin-aḫḫē 5.[58]	*ša* uru.lú sag.meš	Tp II
	Aššur-nasir 11	lu gal sag.meš	Esar
1	Aššur-rēmanni 19.	lu.gal.sag *ša* dumu-man, ep. 617*	after Ab
8	Aššur-reṣwa 1	lu sag lu dub sar *ša* mí.e.gal	Sg I
	Aššur-šallim-aḫḫē 4	gal.sag.[meš]	Sg I
[illegible]	Aššur-[illegible] 8.	lu.sag ama.man	late Esar/Ab
[illegible]	Ara'di 2	lu sag *ša* dumu lugal uru.ka dingir	late Esar
[illegible]	Awanu 1.	lu sag	Esar
9	Balṭu-Ana[illegible]	(contextual) also fodder master at the [illegible]	Abl (also late Esar
1	Bar-ilī	lú sag *ma-ṣi-al-ta-a-a ša* the Bēl rakkab *ša* Sarru'al	Esar
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Ad [illegible]
	Bēl-dēni-amur 2.	one of [illegible] lú sag.meš *ša*	Sg II
	[illegible]	[illegible]	Sg IV [illegible]

[illegible] name refer to the entry for that individual in PNA I–II (A–N); for names P–Z, to be included in forthcoming fascicles of PNA. letters are used to distinguish homonymous individuals. [illegible] Shamaneser); SsA (Samši-Adad); Tp (Tiglath-[illegible]

[illegible] PNA

[illegible]

28	[illegible]	[illegible]	Sg I
29	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
30	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
31	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
32	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
33	[illegible]	[illegible]	Adn I
34	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
35	[illegible]	[illegible]	Adn III
36	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
37	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] early Alv
38	Dad	[illegible]	Sg I
39	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
40	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
41	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
42	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
43	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
44	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
45	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
46	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
47	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
48	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
49	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
50	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
51	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
52	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
53	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
54	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
55	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
56	[illegible]	[illegible]	Adn III [illegible]
57	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
58	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
59	[illegible]	[illegible]	Adn I
60	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
61	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
62	[illegible]	[illegible]	Sg I
63	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
64	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
65	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
66	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

---

[58] [illegible]

[59] [illegible]

[60] [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	sag-man, also palace herald, ep. 665	Ab
[illegible]	[illegible]	lu sa [illegible]	Sg II
[illegible]	[illegible]	lu sa gi[illegible] lu *ša ša* sag-*ša* (*i.e.*, of the king)	Ab
	[illegible]	[illegible]	late Abl
	Marduk [illegible]	[illegible]	late Abl
[illegible]	Marduk-[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	M[illegible]	[illegible]	after Ab
	Mi[illegible]-[illegible]	[illegible]	Esar-Abl
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Muqallil-kabti 2	[illegible]	Sg. I
	[illegible]	[illegible]	Esar/early Abl
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]th/early 8th c.
	Marukkal-Marduk 2	[illegible] ep. 728	Adn. I.1
[illegible]	[illegible]	lu gal-sag-meš	SsA V
[illegible]	Nabu 2.1	[illegible]	Adn II
[illegible]	[illegible]	lu sag, engaged in se[illegible]	late 8th/7th c.
[illegible]	Nabu-[illegible]	lu sag meš of Aššur hal[illegible]	SsA V
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Adn II
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Esar
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Sg II
[illegible]	Nabû-duru-usur 13	[illegible]	Esar/early Abl
[illegible]	Nabû-epuš	[illegible]	Sg. I
[illegible]	Nabû-eriba 18	[illegible]	Ab
[illegible]	Nabû-eriba 30	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Nabû-gâmil 2	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Nabû-kâlanni 3	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Nabû-nadin-abbe 2	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Nabû-qati-sabat 4	[illegible]	Abl
[illegible]	Nabû-rêmanni 33	[illegible]	Sg II [illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible] + Adad-nerari, king of Assyria	Adn III
[illegible]	[illegible]	lu gal-sag, Aram. *rbrn*, ep. 644	Ab
[illegible]	Nabû-šarru-usur 34	lu sa[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Nabû-šezibanni 10	lu sag *ša* uru é lugal me[illegible]	[illegible] Ab
[illegible]	Nabû-ṭappûti-ilî 1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Sg I
[illegible]	Na[illegible]-du 1	[illegible]	[illegible] Ab
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Sg II
[illegible]	Na[illegible]-du 3	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] Omitted from PNA [illegible] RIMA 3 p. 201 for further [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] In the heading of th[illegible] Sargon [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] ep. [illegible] of the eponym [illegible] in PNA

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Ab
	Nergal-[illegible][65]	[illegible]	Ad[illegible] I
	[illegible]	[illegible]	
	Nergal-[illegible]	[illegible]	
7	Nergal-[illegible]?	[illegible]	late Ab[illegible]
8	Nergal-[illegible]	[illegible] lú.sag *sa* lú.gal-[illegible]	Sg I
[illegible]	Nergal-[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9	Nergal-[illegible]	[illegible] pab 4 sag meš	Sg I
	Nergal-[illegible]	[illegible]	Ab
	[illegible][66]	[illegible] sag, gov. Rasappa, ep. 803, 775	Adn II
8	[illegible]	[illegible]	Ad[illegible] III–Asdn I I
	[illegible]	[illegible]	Sg I
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] sag meš *nu*	Sg II
[illegible]	[illegible] Adad	[illegible] man	Sg II
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] sag of Bel-tarsi-dumma (gov. Kalhu; see 33)	Adn II
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
125	Ruzubdi	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] lú.a.ba (brother of Bel-tarsi-	Adn II
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] sag-nagar	Sg I
128	Sin-šumu-[illegible]	lú.gal-sag	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] Ab
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] *sa mahhi, bīt* (of the Nabû Temple	Ab
		[illegible]	
131	Sîn-[illegible]	[illegible] pap 41 lú sag meš-*nu*	Sg II
		[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] sag, gal lú sag meš	Ab
133	Sîn-[illegible]	lú-[illegible]	Adn III
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Ab[illegible] and later
135	Sanas-šumu'a	lú-[illegible] of Adad-nerari, king of Assyria[67]	Adn III
136	Sanas-[illegible]?	lú.sag of Adad-nerari, king of Assyria.	Adn III
		[illegible]	
[illegible]	Sanas-[illegible]	[illegible] lú[illegible]	Ab
138	Samaš-apal-[illegible]	lú-[illegible]	Adn III–Sl-al IV
139	Samsu-balat	lú-sag	Zen
140	Sarru-kenu-iram	lú-[illegible]	[illegible]
141	Sarru-mukannišu	lú-[illegible]	Adn III
142	Sarru-nūrī	lú-[illegible]	Esa

65 The fact of his being a eunuch [illegible]

66 The name has often [illegible] Nergal [illegible] Sadmor 1973: 14 [illegible] gi du represents a different deity in Neo-Assyrian sources. This is borne out [illegible] the distribution of Neo-Assyrian names formed with the divine elements Nergal and igi du: [illegible] the many individuals bearing Nergal- names in PNA 2/II non[illegible] has the divi[illegible] [illegible] name of the eunuch in question here written only with igi du.

67 [illegible] with the governor of Arrapha, eponym for 811

68 [illegible]

143. Šulmu-šarri a.	lu sag *ša* e ki m ab	Abl
144. Šulmu-šarri b.	lu sag kur *ku ši-a-a* (*i.e.*, Kušiye)	Esar-Ad
145. Šumaia	lú.sag	Senn
146. Tardiru-Aššūr a.	sag ·man gal·50	Sha. IV
147. Tardiru-Aššur b.	sag	Abi
148. Tardiru-Aššūr c.	sag	prob. 7th c
149. Teušpah	lu.sag	Abi
150. ?Tikusa	{lu.sag} of Sin-{...}	Senn
151. Gannara	lú.sag	Tp III/Sg II
152. Utēzib	lú. s]ag.kur ˹x x x x˺	Tp III/Sg II
153. Zazi?	lú sag lugal	Sg II
154. [ ]-ana-kaša-atkal	lú sag	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible] cupbearer (lu kaš [illegible]	

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. The sons of Marduk-ban-zēri, descendant of Bēl-ētir

a. Muṣṣēib-Marduk and Nergal-iddin as co-debtors

"[illegible] of Muṣṣēib-Marduk and Nergal-[illegible] of Marduk-ban-zēri, descendant of Bēl-ētir ..." (Cyr 240: 1'-5'; 11 xii 6 Cyr / 532 BC)

[illegible] Nergal-[illegible] (presumably now deceased)[70] owed to Gabbiya, son of Labbušumnu

[illegible] debt of Marduk-ban-zēri, son of Ē[illegible], descendant of Bēl-ētir, the dates, according to their [illegible] Gabbiya ..." (Camb 110: 1-7; 14 iv 2 Camb / 528 BC)

[illegible] of Camb 1[illegible] likely that he was the oldest brother, but this cannot be verified. Iddin-Nabu balatu is rela[illegible] Marduk-[illegible] Muṣṣēib-Marduk was [illegible] Marduk-šūm-zēri, who did not actually share in Marduk-ban-zēri's estate (nor in his father's es

69 The edition (SAA 1 184) restor[illegible]

70 Marduk-bān-zēri [illegible] (Camb 73, dated 14 viii 1 Camb[illegible]

71 He [illegible] to her sister 'Ina-Esagil-beter; see Wunsch 1995/96: 4 1 for discu[illegible]

I am grateful to Cornelia Wunsch for draw[illegible] unpublished tablet BM 30515, wh[illegible] duk-ban-zēri had only three sons, not [illegible] on an extra share "in addition to his 1/4 share (*i.e.*, implying three sons [illegible]

[illegible] The sons of Nabu-ahhē-iddin, descendant of Eg[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] The sons of N[illegible], descendant of A[illegible]

[illegible] had not divided with Iddin-Marduk, his elder brother, and Nergal-[illegible] his younger brother, and Mukin-Marduk, his father's brother ..." (BM 41602: 2–5 = CM [illegible] 128; 10.v.1+ Cyr [538–530 BC])

4. The sons of Itti-Marduk-balātu, descendant of Egibi

[illegible] in-law of their father Itti-Marduk-[illegible]

a. [illegible] Nabû-[illegible]-bulliṭ and Nergal-ušallim, the younger sons of Itti-[illegible] (Wunsch 1995/96 no. 2: 15–17; [illegible] 8 Camb [529–522 BC])

b. Dividing the estate of their father Itti-Marduk-balātu

[illegible]

5. The sons of Šulaya, descendant of Ea-epp[illegible]

Where Marduk-šumu-ibni and Nabû-šumu-iddin, sons of Šulaya, descendant of E[illegible] BM [illegible] 66; Camb 260; Dar 38; 169; 224; 226. The dates range from 3.vi.3 Camb to 22.v[illegible] Dar [527–515 BC]

6. The sons of Nabû-bān-zēri, descendant of Nappāḫu

a. Dividing the temple prebends of their father Nabû-bān-zēri

[illegible] (MacGinnis 1991/92 no. 9: 1–3; 16.viii.17 Nbn, 544 BC)

b. In a lease of [illegible]

[illegible] 503 BC)

[illegible]

7. The sons of Šāpik-zeri, descendant of Nadin-šeʾim

As co-creditors

[illegible] belonging to [illegible] Marduk [illegible] son of Nabû-[illegible] descendant of [illegible] and Marduk-šumu-uṣur and Nabû-[illegible] son of Šapik-zeri, descendant of Nadin-šeʾim [illegible] debtor of [illegible] (Camb 174: 1–5 = CM 20 no. 98, 30 vi. 3 Camb (527 BC))

8. The sons of Zeriya, descendant of Šangû-Gula

As co-debtors

[illegible] the debt of Kidin-Marduk and Nabû-mušētiq-udde, sons of Zēriya, descendant of Šangû-Gula ..." (CM 3 no. 291: 4–5; [illegible] Cyr 15 no. 535 BC))

[illegible]

9. The sons of Nabû-zēru-lišir, descendant of Egib.

In the "testament" of their mother ʾGugua

[illegible] the dowry of ʾGugûa, she made over in a sealed tablet to Ea-zēr-ibni, her oldest [illegible] sons to Nabû-[illegible] [illegible] (Nabû-[illegible] 17 [illegible] Nabû-[illegible] 35 BC)

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Text sig a etc follow those used in AHW and CAD, with the addition of the following

AUWE 5	see Gehlken 1990
CM 3	see Wunsch 1993
CM [illegible]	see Wunsch 2000
PNA	*The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Vol 1, Part II A–K [illegible] Helsinki 1998. Vol 1 Part II B–G K Radner (ed.) [illegible] Vol. 2, Part I H–K H D Baker (ed.) Helsinki 2000 Vol. 2, Part II L–N H D Baker (ed.) Helsinki 200
RIMA 3	see Grayson [illegible]
UBoK	[illegible]
ZA 4 Bard.	see Strassmaier 1889

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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The "Accession Year" in the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Period

*Tom Boiy — Leuven**

[illegible] years after some major event that took place, a date [illegible] during the Old Babylo[illegible] the point of transition from one reign to the next. In Babylonia the first year of a new king started on Nisannu 1 (New Year's day) that followed that king's accession to the throne [illegible]

[illegible] year was [illegible] reign of Darius II.

Some of the texts from the accession year of Darius II (424/3 BC) mention in the date [illegible]

* Postdoctoral Fellow of the Fund for Scientific Research — Flanders (Belgium). My sincere [illegible]
[illegible] and [illegible] permission to publish the tablets HSM 1893.5.29 and 1909.5.669.

Abbreviations. ADAT: A. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts* [illegible] Denkschriften 195, 210 and 247). Wien 1988–1996; AJAH: American Journal of Ancient History; SE: Seleucid Era; TAD: B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents* [illegible] *the First Dynasty of Babylon*. McMaster University Press 1999.

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[illegible] AMI 16 233-234 20 and BM 54 [illegible]
[illegible] Dubberstein* the reason for this probably was that "the
[illegible] 11 and then, remembering that a new king was
[illegible] d continued with the rest of the date formula." In
[illegible] ow) this interpretation was omitted. In view of the
[illegible] g both the year 41 and the accession year and because it is at
[illegible] oments of transition both the last year of the previous k[illegible]
[illegible] tioned," the explanation of Parker and
[illegible]

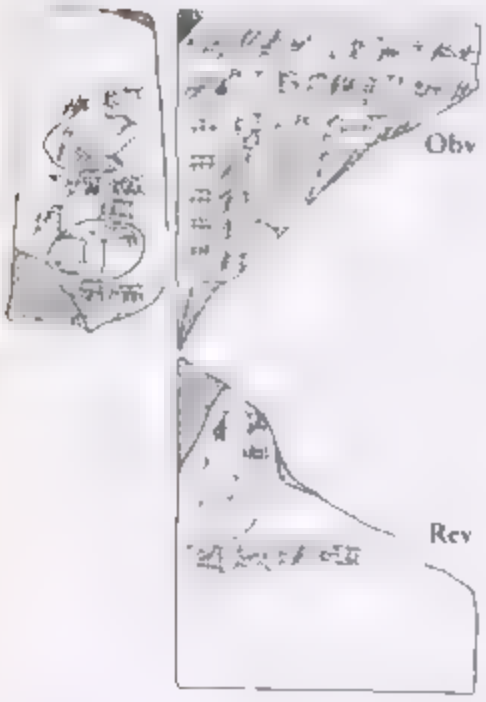
[illegible] ears were attested, it was accepted in Parker and
[illegible] l of Alexander the "acces
[illegible] Babylonian usage. A copy of tablet 10 of the Gilgameš epic
BM 35174 now pub[illegible] is a part of CT 46 30) led the first editor Wiseman a few years
ater to the hypothesis tha[illegible] had already been abandoned by Darius's sta
[illegible] the first place on pros[illegible]
[illegible] Mušezib wa[illegible]
[illegible] d the end of the fifth
[illegible]
[illegible] dence derived from Dar 196
[illegible]
[illegible] n years had been abandoned
[illegible] ed that this prosopographical evidence
[illegible] is a person called Itti-Marduk-balatu/Iddi Be
Antiochus III fend of the third century BC, ZA 3 150 152.[illegible]
[illegible] fel at the end of the second century BC during th
[illegible] chronous dating in the date formula
[illegible]

[illegible] be fo
[illegible] ar as II's Accession in the [illegible] of BM 54557 [illegible]
[illegible] 49. The [illegible] year 41 = accession yea
formula only mentions the accession yea
[illegible]
[illegible] ate to.
[illegible] B2 2 for the transition Xerxes I Artaxerxes I
[illegible] Sculpet, "Late Achaeme
[illegible] 55 for the transition Darius II Artaxerxes II

[illegible] ubberstein *Babylonian Chronology 626 BC – AD 75* (Brown
[illegible]
[illegible] ZA 56

[illegible] HSM 1909.5.669 mention the accession year (mu sag)[19] of king Darius and, as argued above [illegible] very end of the Achaemenid dynasty.[20]

Nº 1: HSM 1893.5.29



Obv. 1 [. . . ^{d}*u*^{r} *bu-šu* munus meš
ša ^{lú}gir [. . .
mu sag ^{m}*da-ri-ia-a-muš* lu ga
kur kur]

[illegible]

Rev. [. . .] kišib
(seal impression,
[illegible]

1' E na[illegible] kišib
(seal impression)
[illegible]

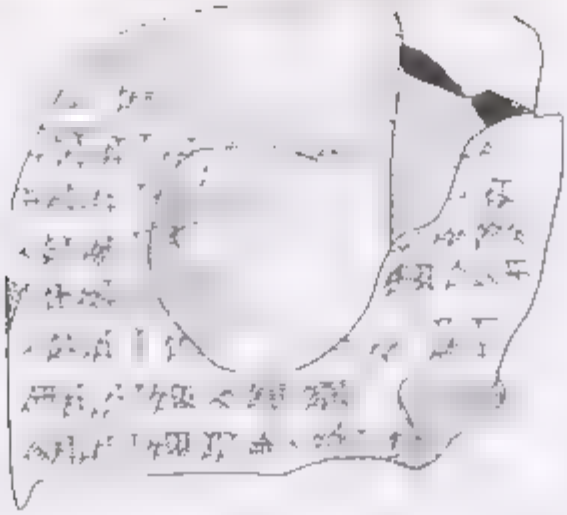
[illegible] kišib
[illegible]

[illegible] NSK [illegible] 28 and Allw 9.

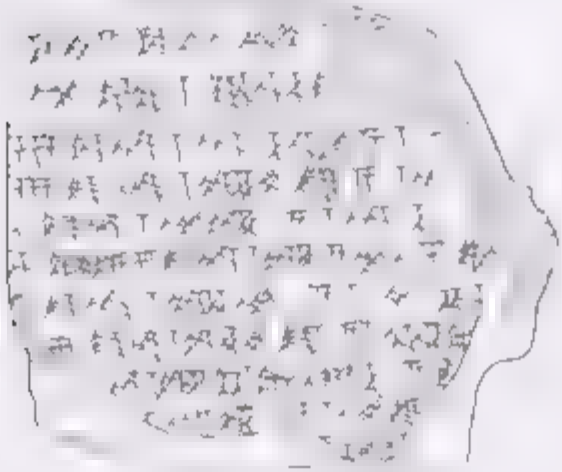
[illegible] My thanks are due to Prof. B[illegible]

N° 2: HSM 1909.5.669

Obv.



Rev



Obv. 1' [illegible]

[illegible]

10 ma na *[illegible]mu-en a [illegible]

5 [illegible]

10 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

mu sag ^{m}*da ri-r a-mu* lugal kur kur

6 ma na ^{md}en-tin-*su* a ^{md} be-kad

in 4 ma na ^{md}en-a-mu *u* 4 dumu meš *su*

' ma na ^{md}en-nagin-*sr u šeš su* a.meš . .]

9 [.]-x-^{d}en a ^{m}umun-tin-*su*

The same Esagil archive also provides information on the use of "accession year" in [illegible] BM [illegible] gal) Therefore the accession year practice must have been in use [illegible] cuneiform tablets in Babylonia were dated to the new Macedonian sovereign

N° 3: BM 8^{m}241

Obv. 1 [. .] [ ] 'a ^{m}*ta-nit tu* [illegible]

[illegible] b) ^{md}Su mo mu a ^{md}en-kam *u* 2 dumu mes *du*

[illegible] b) ^{m}en-*du nu* a ^{md}en-kam *u* 2 dumu meš-*su*

[illegible] *pir-su* a ^{m}amar utu-pap

[illegible] tesi a ^{m}*ab-ni u* dumu

[illegible] ucu-*su* a ^{md}en tin-*su u* dumu-*du*

[illegible] kur zu lum ma šuk hi a ^{m}ad kid meš [illegible]

[illegible] m u sag ^{m}*u-lek-sa an-da-ri-is* lugal en nil MN

9 mu- kam ^{m}*u ulk-sa an-da-ri-is* lugal *ma* šul ^{m}en-tin-sla

[illegible]

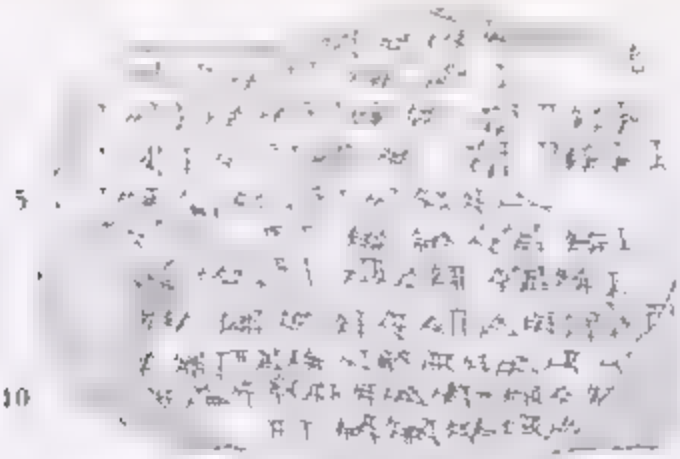
[illegible] na$_4$.[.] na$_4$.kišib

[illegible] son) (seal impression)

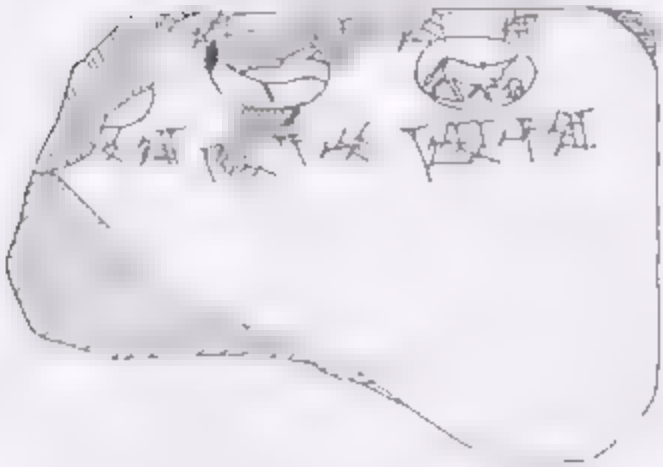
[illegible]

[illegible]

Obv.



Rev



Zadok dated BM 87241 to the accession year [illegible] Alexander IV and restored *m.a-lik-sa an-da-ri-is* LU.GAL DUMU *la* [illegible] *a-lik-sa-an-da-ri-is* for the royal name in the date formula in obv. 9'–10'.

Study of the tablet in the British Museum s[illegible] alter ugal in obv. 9' which means that Zad[illegible] interpretation is imp[illegible] Comparison [illegible] ration lists from the Esagil archive res[illegible] to the restoration proposed above. The ration lists often deal with several successive months and they describe these in the date formula as "ta MN (mu-#-kam) en til *a-a qi-it* MN mu-#-kam RN" or "from month a [illegible] Therefore the appearance of *Aleksandari* [illegible] not mean that Alexander's son Alex[illegible]der IV was intended, but rather that the year was mentioned not only after the second m[illegible]h name [illegible]r after the first month name too. Because the month names are not pres[illegible]d and the second indication of the year is incomplete, it is not clear which year is meant in obv. 10'. If a [illegible]onths mentioned occurred in [illegible] the same B[illegible] [illegible] the year number only after the last month name.[22] Only if two [illegible]rent Babylonian years were

22 See *e.g.* OECT 12 B2. 4: (ta [m]sig en til [m]apin mu-5-kam

[illegible] Therefore it is likely that the end of the rations mentioned in BM 87241 cannot be dated during the accession year 331/0 BC, but during the following year 330/29 BC.[24]

A second argument to identify *Aleksandaru* with Alexander the Great is the spelling [illegible] AD -330 [illegible] 2 145 [illegible] beginning of Alexander's reign (AD -330 describes the events immediately following the battle at Gaugamela and AJAH 2 145 deals with the end of the Achaemenid period and Alexander's re[illegible] Alexander IV was never written in any other way.

[illegible] is the Solar Saros TAPS 81.6 [illegible]. After Alexander's last complete year Alexander 13[26] this [illegible] regnal year of Philip, the documents should stop with Philip 7. Philip 8 however is attest[illegible] the date formulas of legal and administrative cuneiform documents also abandoned the [illegible]

[illegible] *i-ip-su* luga.

4 Because the Babylonian scribes counted Alexander's reign according to his Macedonian regnal years, the year following his accession year was not year 1 but year 2 [illegible] Alexander 2 as the year following Darius III 5, see LBAT [illegible]

[illegible] 9 00-5:00 PM" WdO 28 (1997), 11.

[illegible] Solar Saros notes Alexander [illegible] according to Alexander's Babylonian regnal [illegible] as is done in the legal and administrative [illegible]

mously to Philip (he died in the summer of 317 BC) instead of one and the rest of the [illegible]

[illegible] of Alexander IV. Since Alexander's [illegible] BC was a year from the New Satos[28] it's first year[29] can only have been 316/5 BC, which is the year that started as Philip 8. There [illegible] year of Alexander IV.

[illegible] to reconstruct the following chronologies for the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic periods.

BC	Years	Alex. III	Philip	Alex. IV
336/5	2	[illegible]		
335/4		1		
334/3		2		
[illegible]		3		
332/1		4		
331/0		5	[illegible]	
330/9			[illegible]	
329/8			3	
328/7			4	
[illegible]			5	
[illegible]			6	
[illegible]			7	
[illegible]			8	
[illegible]			9	
[illegible]			10	
320/19			1	
319/18			2	
318/17			3	
[illegible]			4	
316			5	1
315/4				2

For a [illegible] used during the Early Hellenistic period see T. Boiy, "Dating Methods [illegible] Hellenistic Period," JCS 52 (2000) 115–121.

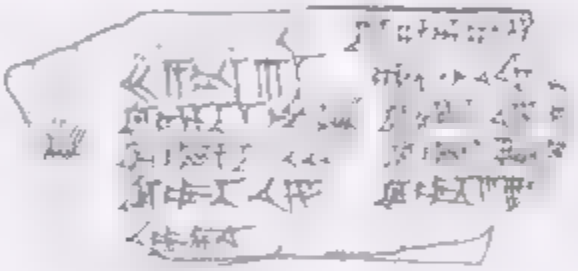
28 See TAPS 81/6 24 [illegible] of Alexander IV. Since L. 16 mentions 7 Sl [illegible] it is no problem [illegible] Alexander IV.

29 Alexander IV [illegible] M. Iorsa, "Nea dna Spa[illegible] Museums and Art Galleries [illegible]

Remarks on BM 37361

John P. Britton — Wilson, Wyoming

[illegible] its thickness must have been a sizeable tablet from the [illegible] collection. A. L. Sachs's [illegible]



	col I'	col II	col III
1		[+10]	KI MU I MU I
2	]	20 A RA 3 1	'MU I *dele-bat*' I'5 x' [...
3	I'x'	KI SAG SU 1 MU MEŠ	KI SAG SU 15 'U
4	...] MEŠ	KI MU RU'B$_4$ SU 30	KI MU RU B$_4$ SU' 7 30 I TI'. .]
5	...]	KI GIR SU 15	KI GIR SU 3 8 [ ]
6	...]	GE$_6$ US	(blank)

[illegible] (occurs) at the beginning, 1,0 years. Lines 4 and 5 repeat this formula for "middle" and end" with successive halves of the number of years. Line 6 then makes reference to [illegible] I refers to the [illegible]

[illegible] cheerful editorial help

Pleiades, written with the older form. A [illegible] suggesting an early date of composition. Line 2 [illegible] Venus is followed by [illegible] and in [illegible] fragment of a [illegible] lines 3, 5 [illegible] line 5, "3;8" is presumably a rounded scribal error of 3;7,30 instead of 3;45 for half of 7;30 [illegible] denoted in astronomical texts by TIL = *gamru* "complete," *e.g.*, in BM 76738[2] line 7 ff. for 1 Kandalanu (-643), in W22797[3] line 3 for 28 Nebuchadnezzar (-576), and in Diaries[4] for 567 (line 14) and later.

[illegible] however, also occurs twice in a fragment of a Babylonian compilation of Mars observations (HSM 1490)[5] in reports for years 35 and 36 Nebuchadnezzar (-569/-8) and it was the difficulty of making any sense of this sign which had held up publication of that tablet for several years. As it happened, on a visit to London, Christopher asked me [illegible] intercalations it contained, and I mentioned that it was held up by a pair of inexplicable [illegible] advancement of Assyriological scholarship.

[illegible] London, 1999) 61 [illegible]

[1] E. von Weiher, *Uruk* 4, Text 171, p. 111; copy p. [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

The Level of the Euphrates

*David Brown — Oxford and Berlin**

[illegible] reign — righteous days, years of justice,
copious rains, huge floods, a fine rate of exchange

[illegible] Mesopotamia and [illegible] was more significant for irrigation-fed agriculture. The chief scribe is also probably trying to account for the period of high rainfall and for the huge floods in terms of "years of [illegible] appropriate royal behaviour, and their withdrawal a sign of divine ire, that led to the [illegible] picture of the economy of Mesopotamia. I am [illegible]

[illegible] Wolfson College, Oxford, and was completed while at the Freie Universität Berlin, funded by the Humboldt-Stiftung.

1 S. Parpola 1993 No. 226: 9 Parpola tr. [illegible] floods." *Mīlu* Sumerogram (ilu) in the Diaries means rather "river level," since it is applied [illegible] the year; perhaps this is also meant here. High water in the Diaries is usually designated by *mīl kīsi*. Floods bode both good and [illegible] we might expect. For example, in Hunger (1992) No. 4: rev. 7 the flood is predicted to "carry off the land." Clearly, excessive flooding was potentially as much of a problem as too little.

[illegible] the contempor[illegible]

The Source

[illegible] times, and so began my interest in gathering some of that data. The following is the first publication of some results of this endeavour.

[illegible] of ancient data, such a[illegible]

[illegible] tion. See now Stephenson "Modern Uses of Ancient Astronomy," in Walker (ed.), *Astron*[illegible] [illegible] troductions to the Diaries are to be found in Sach[illegible] [illegible] in A. Sachs 1974). On the complementary roles played [illegible] and the possible purpose behind their compilation [illegible] 1989) 139f. Brown (2000) 97–103.

[illegible] Kundzins (1985)

[illegible] can be found in [illegible]

9 *E.g.* Ern[illegible] [illegible] conditions is needed to understand [illegible] tion and to differentiate between natural variation and man[illegible] [illegible] and to predict future climat[illegible]

[illegible] (1997) contains an in-depth analysis of the economic information in the Diaries, and in [illegible] the data do not overlap to any great extent. K. Hecker and J. K[illegible] also worked on the Euphrates level data. They collaborated with H. Hunger who very kindly sent me [illegible] in precipitation, and so largely coincides with their work.

The Treatment of the Data

Mar-Issar, Esarhaddon's agent in Babylonia writes:[11]

> [illegible] [illegible]ng, my lord], as the B[illegible] [illegible]ap] on them, but it did not stay in good condition [illegible] of the k[illegible] much they have improved the ramp, but it will not stay in go[illegible] the waters have increased and risen up the wall of Ezida.

[illegible] prior to that. This is perhap[illegible] in the Euphrates. The data in the Diaries cover the period from -651 until -60. As well as [illegible] ended.

[illegible] That is, March 21st in Graph 1 is the Vernal Equinox.

10. Project cited in Sachs and Hunger, *D*[illegible]ences to publications in Muller (1989, 2000).

11. [illegible] 194 refers to the same year.

12. [illegible]

The data concern [illegible] of 6, one finger equates to a ΔNA of 0.25. The lowest level recorded for the river is [illegible] 56: A 19 this is called NA nu nuk).[39] The gauge clearly descended into the river [illegible] *habtu 1*, a cubit — rose 22 fingers (= ΔNA of 5.5), and that "until the 6th of month [illegible]

[illegible] thus assigned once in every four years. However, the interval between equinoxes — the [illegible] or seasonal year — is 365.2422 days. The Julian calendar over-estimated the length [illegible] year by about 1.8 days every 1000 years. Working back to a time before 46 BC, in the [illegible] one day from the Julian date given by Hunger. For all dates between -241 and -370 I have [illegible]

[illegible] in the height of the river of c. 8 cm corresponds to a fall or rise of 1 NA. The height [illegible] the second day of each

[illegible] *Babru* is used in a number of fourth and third century Diaries, -382 III X XI, -380 XI XII; -372 I, IV, -346 XI, -343 XI, -324 IV, VI; -322 X XI -304 I, -273 XII; -266 V -203 VIII However, until a clear understanding of what is [illegible]

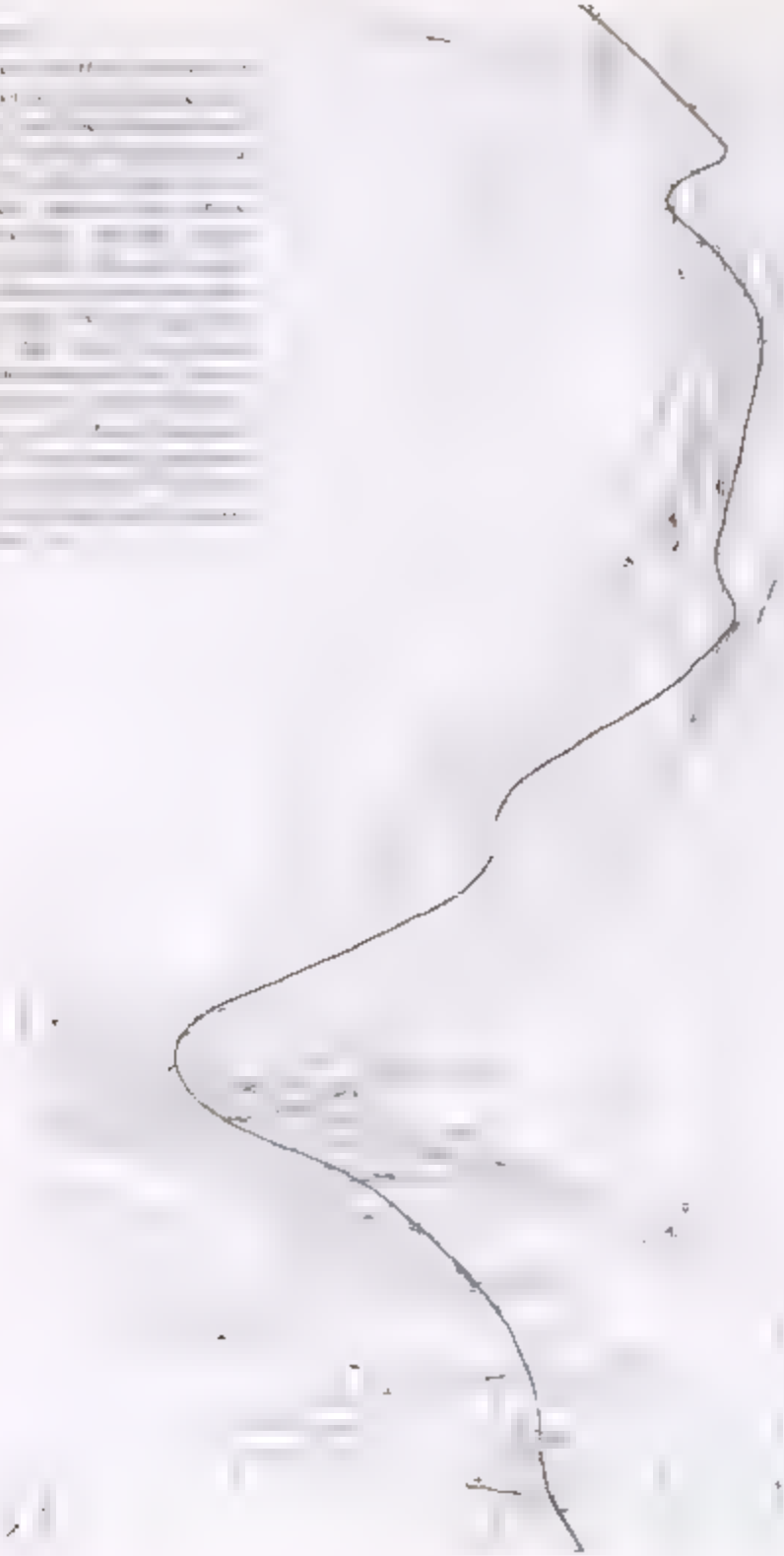
In -369:5, -346 rev 33 and in the later years of -10" [illegible] and -77 the statement illu [illegible] sion "cut off

[illegible]

[illegible]	High water Over the previous decade the waters were also higher)
[illegible]	Later and smaller than average spring flood — also plotted
[illegible]	High water cut off (month XII
[illegible]	[illegible] water cut off (month XII Mar
	[illegible] month VI Sept [illegible] akatu canal blocked (and?) the river rose 4 fingers
[illegible]	[illegible]
	Pal akatu canal mentioned in month VI (Sept
	No NA measures, but the line (38, "a great flood came" in month IX (Dec)
[illegible]	Canal *opening* mentioned at river height of 4 NA (month II, May)
	High water cut off — also plotted
[illegible]	[illegible] akatu mentioned in fragment D — date uncertain
[illegible]	[illegible] some NA measures, but also month VI "the river level receded very much beyond its normal [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] water cut off month X (Jan
	[illegible] plotted

19 [illegible] cubit — the level rose 8 fingers, 30 the NA," implying that a [illegible] of $^1/_6$ cubit corresponds to 32 NA, suggesting a remainder of zero to be at 3" NA or a [illegible] NA. The most plausible solution [illegible] describes the height *above* a depth which corresponds approximately with 36–3" NA

20 Slotsky (1997): 90



I chose to plot the data in this way, because it has allowed me to interpolate values [illegible] tially one peak in the level of the river sometime between March and May, and a shallow [illegible] texts that also contained data on prices, (b) plotted NA values against months, that is [illegible] dramatically within a month, and because the lunar year wanders against the equinoctial by up to a month. Slotsky's approach "smudges" the results of what is in essence a seasona [illegible]

Sources of Error.

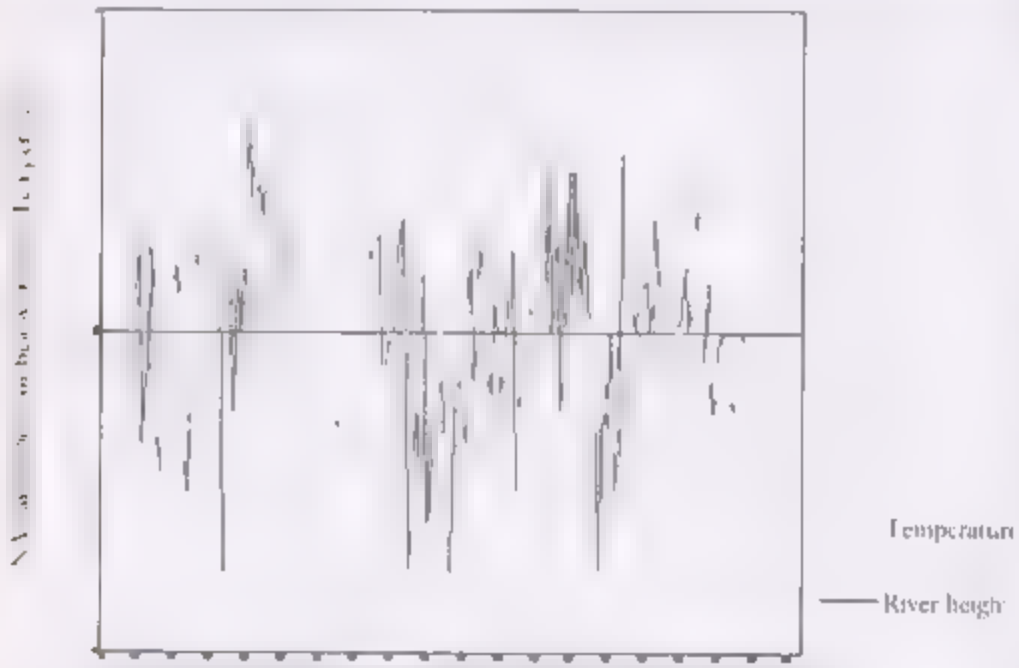
[illegible] been surviving values. This is most apparent when the calculations are in error (*e.g.*, in [illegible] describes the rise and fall of the *river during* the day

[illegible] months

[illegible] nians themselves manipulated the height of the river. The references to the Pallukatu cana cited above show how the level of the water in the river in Babylon, when particularly low around September, could be raised by closing this canal. What is noteworthy, however, is [illegible] the overall profile of the river

21 Hunger and Pingree (1999): 142–144

[illegible] ing in -108 suggests. However, the very fact that on numerous occasions the level of the [illegible] role, if any, in affecting the streamflow [illegible]



[illegible] plotted (without units [illegible]

[illegible] carried by the river at this time was *on an* [illegible] and, secondly because, as Graph 2 shows, throughout the interval of 221 years the volume of the river rose repeatedly above and below the [illegible]. In other words, there is no evidence that during this period the flow [illegible] the mean curve would itself vary over [illegible]

In some cases, judging the amount by which the river height exceeded the average [illegible] straightforward, particularly when the peak flood or low point has been noted or the

recorded profile runs parallel with the average [illegible] others, for example 86 whose pr[illegible] to assess the final peak [illegible] [illegible] work, and concentrates what remains of the human testimony of the magnitude of [illegible] tiny exceed[illegible]

Lamonia [illegible]

[illegible] irrigation. However, unlike the deserts beside the Nile in Egypt Babylonia received [illegible] opening and closing of canals [illegible] associated with unusually low or high water levels could in part be alleviated and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ties as recorded in the Diaries during periods of particular low streamflow.

Slotsky[illegible] [illegible] increased. While there is evidence that the market was in part controlled and that prices did not fully [illegible] occurred just wh[illegible] which occasions the river was particularly low, and I have utilised the data provided by Slotsky (1997) [illegible] river levels and price increases.

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Cress, cardamom and sesame are more expensive than in years previous and fo[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] Prices were cheap again only in -186, -182 and -181, but expensive again [illegible]
[illegible] 5	Barley is much more expensive, dates cheaper, in this year than in years previous [illegible]
[illegible] 118	Both before and after this period, goods were substantially cheaper [illegible] Goods appear to have been more expensive that year, as compared to years pre[illegible]

[illegible] during these periods of low flooding, it is noteworthy that despite prices in general falling [illegible] c. 185 an[illegible] *general tendency* in almost all cases when the river was low.

The level of th[illegible] that determined the prices of [illegible] Euphrates can be calculated [illegible] year or so from proxy records of precipitation in Anatolia. As I hope this work will show, it should be possible to do, a new and valuable tool will be provided to the historian of Mesopotamia's economy.

[illegible] see in particular the graphs on pp. 79–81 and p. 83. Made[illegible] also (Abb. 2) that barley peaked in price around -280, -275, -260, -248, -230, -210, -190, -180, and -175. Clearly his findings al[illegible]

Correlation with Volcanic Eruptions

[illegible] mention on pp. 4[illegible] of A.L. Slotsky the authors argue that a contemporary record of the [illegible] eruption can be found in the Diaries. They also suggest that the effects of the eruption of Vulcano may have been [illegible] recorded in the [illegible] Diaries. A.L. Slotsky kindly sent me a copy of an unpublished seminar paper she presented [illegible] volcanic eruptions in the Diaries. Only months X to XII of the [illegible] 96 survive, corresponding to January to March -196. From mid-February onwards no water is therein recorded. Slotsky [illegible] a peak flood at the end of March unusually early, concluding that this [illegible] have been connected to the eruption [illegible] whereas eruption [illegible] ear y 197 BC

However, [illegible] ly to have affected the level of precipitation in the Euphrates basin in the Anatolian highlands than in Mesopotamia itself. As Graph [illegible] the streamflow of the Euphrates in early -196 was both early and unusually high and that by the next year this had gone. It is indeed conceivable that this was caused by rainfall in January or February of -196, but [illegible] before [illegible] rapidly in late October, early November -19[illegible] suggest [illegible] would then have fallen as snow, and melt [illegible] late [illegible] October -197, and so far as I can tell from the evidence [illegible] slightly earlier late.

Connection to Weather in Anatolia

[illegible] Mediterranean climate regime with a wet winter and dry summer. The rainfall in the area is [illegible] and from the Black Sea on a more northerly track. Rain from the Mediterranean penetrates far [illegible] SW to NE [illegible] snow which melts the following year and is combined with some spring rain. Kay and [illegible] (1981) 255 argue that particularly wet winters in the basin area occur when cyclonic flow [illegible] Caspian Sea, and [illegible] (p. 257) that analyses of these storm tracks show [illegible] I plotted on Graph [illegible] some evidence for the temperature in the basin area as derived from

[illegible] reflected in the time of the spring flood — in a warmer year the flood occurred earlier, and [illegible] warm = drier is largely meaningless on a yearly scale

Contemporary records show that there is a very good correlation between winter precipitation and streamflow.[28] That means, that, in general terms, a high level of the [illegible] modern times pertained then

[illegible] with the result that one year of strong rain may create a [illegible] streamflow in the Euphrates in that same year *and* [illegible] the next, and while the effect of higher temperature causing *more* [illegible] This provides much needed information [illegible] the weather in the Mediterranean region [illegible]

[illegible]

Lake Van

[illegible] precipitation [illegible] Data is fraught with difficulties, most significant of which is knowing which climatic signals are actually expressed in the proxy record and to what extent. In the case of the pollen [illegible] the thickness of the varve and the rate of sedimentation as a signal of winter and spring pre[illegible] for both precipitation and temperature. [illegible] times of oxygen-18 depletion [illegible] results are indicative of streamflow through Mesopotamia and reconstruct a coarse streamflow curve for the period from -4000 to the present (fig. 1 — also in Bunzer (1995), 133

28 Kay and [illegible] 0.74 between rainfall in Erzurum [illegible] the headwaters [illegible] January-February and the flow of the river at Hit slightly further upstream from Ba[illegible] the period 1939–1964, showing the key role played by winter precipitation in the basin area in the extent of streamflow [illegible]

29 See also the criticisms outlined in Bryson and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] area after 3040 years BP

[illegible] the streamflow of the Euphrates to within [illegible] two years from the Van proxy records of [illegible]

Trees

[illegible] seeking correlations between [illegible] ation as at least justifiable on the following grounds

[illegible]

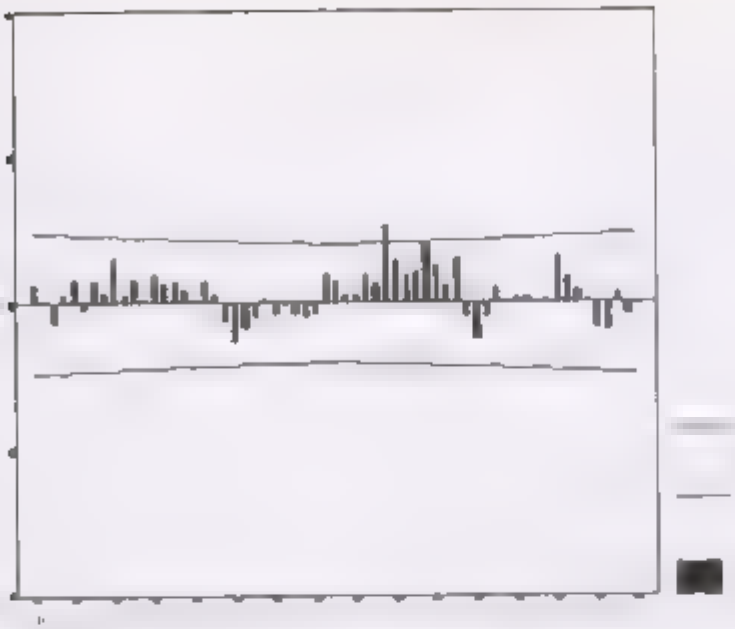
or earlier. In an area with a hot, dry summer, periods of good rainfall would be expected [illegible] evidence [illegible] have played a key role in the amount of growth, and, given the predominance of [illegible] spondingly low or high streamflows at Babylon

[illegible] that they were [illegible] Bruns [illegible] Dendro [illegible] Bruns [illegible] stressed [illegible] Again good [illegible] the last known tree ring at Comacchio dates to -13, and at Ulaia to -149. I then perform [illegible] accurately [illegible]

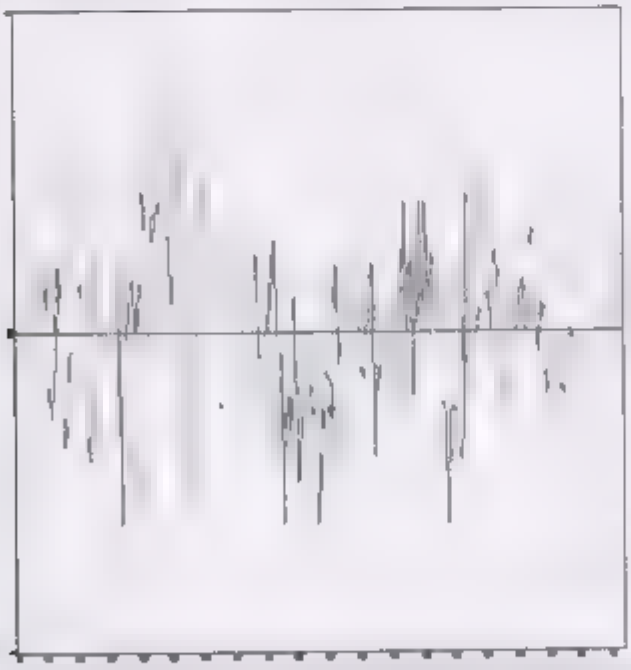
[illegible] 17 BC. Periods of low growth (narrow tree rings) do correspond with periods of low river levels, and vice versa

[illegible] the possibilities of correlation would be higher. Two long tree ring sequences exist for [illegible]

[illegible] is slightly too late for our purposes



[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible] has been dated [illegible] but any more accurate a dating has not yet met with universal approval.[34] So far [illegible] nology of the entire Ancient Near East cannot be overstated.

[illegible]

Weather Modelling and Climate Change

[illegible] Graph 2.

[illegible]

---

[34] [illegible] a sequence of decadal samples of it, and comparing [illegible] with 14C results from precisely dated decadal samples, [illegible] wiggle matching." They then attempted to pin down a [illegible] cerns raised by D. Collon (2000), who also refers to other relevant literature.

[35] [illegible] describe the period 2450 BP to 1950 BP as "a little ice age type event[illegible]

P.B. deMenocal (2000) use [illegible] records to show [illegible] the Mediterranean [illegible] is precipitation in the [illegible] the Nile [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Schafe, die „aus den Häusern" herbeigeführt wurden: BM 78910 und die Rolle des privaten Spenders (*karribu*) im neubabylonischen Sippar*

[illegible]

[illegible] Rolle [illegible] Opferschafen, die in „Häusern" an verschiedene Privatpersonen anvertraut sind

[illegible]

[illegible] Mischung [illegible] Mischung [illegible] von der Viehhaltung.

[illegible] van Dijk hat zwei Beispiele der Verbindung der [illegible] Wir werden uns hier dieser [illegible] widmen.

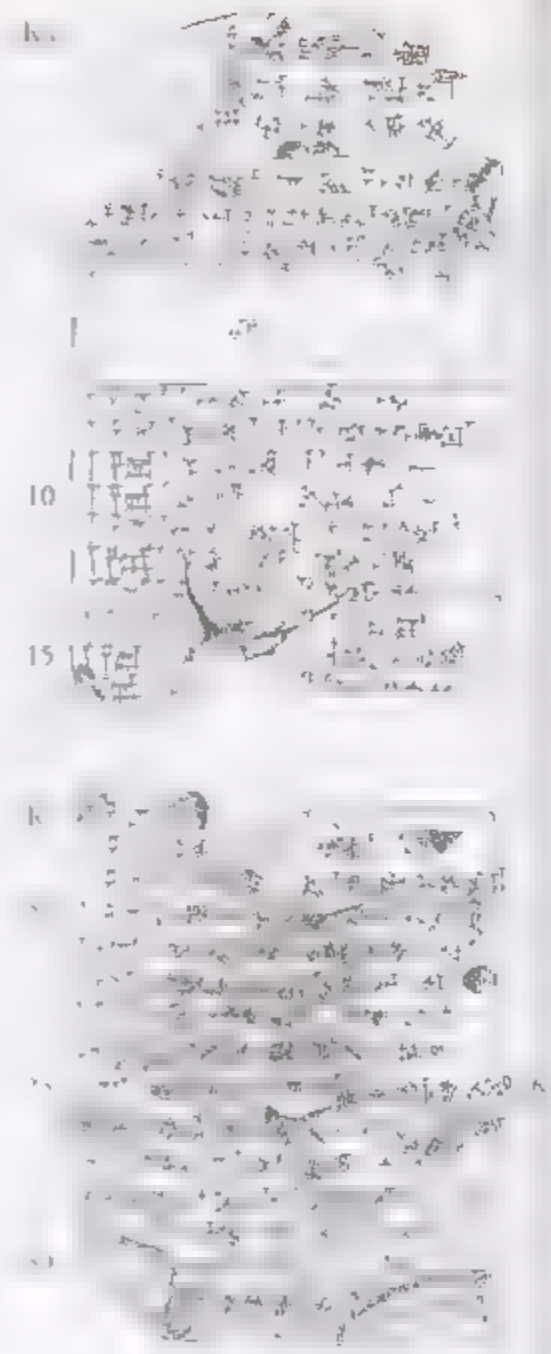
[illegible]

II Die Opferschafe der „Häuser"

Im Bereich der internen Organisation gab es in Sippar ein besonderes [illegible] beim System von Aufzucht und darauffolgender Lieferung von Opfertieren. Gewisse Personen mussten in ihren „Häusern"[3] ein Opferschaf aus den Tempelherden mästen.[4] Diese Personen und ihre Opfergabe sind in Listen registriert.

Erstmals erscheinen derartige Doku- [illegible] nach zu urteilen, gibt es keine Parallelen in anderen Kulturen, allerdings ist die [illegible] babylonischen Städten nicht auszuschlie- [illegible] tes Kleinvieh (udu-nitá) handelt. Die verantwortlichen Personen gehören verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen und Institutionen von Sippar, aber auch von Babylon an. Es ist zu vermuten, daß es sich um eine Obligation dem Tempel gegenüber handelt, obschon wir keine sicheren Informationen darüber haben. Anschei- nend ergänzt dieses System von Schafen [illegible] gen von Opfertieren der externen und internen Herden.[5]

Der Text BM 78910 (88-5-12,96) soll hier als Beispiel dienen: Es handelt sich um eine Liste von Personen, die für ein Schaf zuständig waren. Im Text erfahren wir, daß die Schafe nach Babylon fortgeführt wurden, um dort geopfert zu werden.



3 Siehe G. van Driel, BSA [illegible]
4 Siehe G. van Driel, BSA [illegible]
5 Zu dieser Problematik s. G. van Driel, BSA [illegible] 36 mit Anm. 52.
6 In BM 4988 [illegible] e Schafe als *gmu*, also „gelegentliches" Opfer, bezeichnet.
7 Für die Sammlung und ihre interessante Geschichte s. C. B. F. Walker in E. Leichty et al., CBS 8, xvii.

BM 78910 (88-5-12,9[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Vs [illegible] udu nita [illegible]

[illegible] KIB NIG [illegible]

[illegible]

ab ud 28 kam mu 16 kam [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *sa* é [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] *sa* é [illegible] *na-a* a [illegible]

1 *la* é [illegible] *sa-tim* [illegible] en a [illegible] bad pab

10 1 *la* é [illegible] ba [illegible] mušen du

1 *la* é [illegible] atu mu gio a [illegible]

1 [illegible]

1 [illegible] é [illegible] d, kud-kam a [illegible]

1 [illegible]

15 1 *la* é [illegible] x x x a [illegible] d.a [illegible] amar [illegible]

sa é [illegible] [illegible] n x x] a [illegible] za la [illegible]

Rs 1 [illegible]

sa é [illegible] *ku-* x x ai [illegible] a-z [illegible]

1 *la* é [illegible] *u-qa*[r]-*a* [a] [illegible] spa anše [illegible]

20 1 *la* é [illegible] ap-šeš-*bul la* a [illegible] r [illegible]

1 *la* é [illegible]

1 *la* é [illegible] ag-hi li dingir [illegible] a

[illegible]

1 *la* é [illegible] ag lugal [illegible]

pab 17 udu nita [illegible]

[illegible]

25 20 udu nita *sa la* igi [illegible]

[illegible] ugal

a-ki še bar *sa* mu 12 +x kam

[illegible] g-a-pa]b pab 37 udu.nita

[illegible]

[illegible] ab ud 28 kam mu] 12 +4 [illegible]

30 [[illegible] ag-a-p]ab [lu]gal u,n.[illegible]

x x x] še bar x x mu 1?]+4 kam

[illegible] *la la* [illegible] nig du 70 u du nita [illegible]

Kommentar

Maßstab der Kopie I

[illegible]

Npl 29.5.20), BM 114[illegible]4 (Nbk 16.4.1), CT 44 [illegible]2 (Nbk 12.9.6) und VS 6 252 [illegible]

[illegible] rekte Form wäre trotzd[illegible] *nu* oder *abkū-nim*, keine angularische (und jedenfalls grammatikalisch bedenk[illegible]che) Form *abki-am*. Letztere Form sollte man vielleicht unper[illegible]n ich übersetzen. Ein[illegible]es Formular findet man in BM 77960, 1–2: udu nita [illegible] da *l* [x] x x [illegible]še ud 14 kam mu 10 kam [illegible]ag-a [illegible] Wachstafel geschrieben wurde(?) | 14.12.10 Nabopola[ssar,

[illegible] werden nur die ha[illegible] belegten Personen kommentiert (PN/VN, PN (VN)/EN für die [illegible]

[illegible] Npl 9.11.17, Sippar) und BM 51160: Rs 6' (Nbk 10+.6.x, Sippar [illegible] BM 50732: Rs 10 (Npl 4.8.6

[illegible] Npl 1.12.18, Sippar), BM 49603: 8 (Nbk 7.11.1, Sippar) mit Duplikat CT 55 8 [illegible] Sippar

Der Personenname ist vi[illegible]cht *ᵐIlu-ba-lit* zu ergänzen, aber dies ist unsicher, da kein Labāši, Bel-Marduk [illegible]ographisch bezeugt ist

[illegible] 10) sind von ihm geschrieben

[illegible] mit dem Chef der Herden des Königs zu identifizieren ist

[illegible] Npl x.x.20), BM 49997: 14 ((Npl) BM 78068: 4 (Npl x.x.x)

[illegible] Die beiden letzten Zeile sind kaum mehr lesbar

[illegible]

III. Die Lefera[illegible]

Aus der Prosopographie von BM 78910 und der anderen Urkunden ergibt sich, daß e[illegible]

z. B. Ebabbar-Tempel, Ko[illegible]

In anderen Texten ist von Häusern von Einwohnern Babylons die Re[illegible] BN [illegible] sind

- *ša* é PN₁/VN FN₂[8]
- *ša* é PN₁/VN FN₂ mit Angabe von BN
- *ša* é PN *ša* ON bzw. mit Nis[illegible]
- *ša* é PN *ša ina* é PN₁ / BN *ša* PN₂ *i ašabu ša* PN₃ („Meter von P[illegible]
- *ša* é PN *ša* é Tempel bzw. Staatsins[illegible]

1. [illegible]

Die [illegible] verschiedensten Gruppen und Institutionen der babylonischen G[illegible]

Zunächst ist zu fragen, ob diese „H[illegible] Wenden wir uns den Opferlisten des Ebabbar A[illegible]

- In [illegible] Rs. [illegible] tag, von dem x. Tag, von denen 2 von den Häusern . . . Später wird in etwas unklaren [illegible] wede ist.
- M[illegible] den Hirten der Opfergaben übergeben, wie z. B. in VS 6 [illegible] Spi 16,8.12). Hier sind [illegible] ebenfalls dem Hirten der Op[illegible]

8 Abkürzungen: PN: Personenname; VN: Vatername; FN: Familienname; BN: Berufsbezeichnung; ON: Ortsname.

[illegible] den Schafen [illegible] BM 78310 [illegible] an Schafen aus den Königsherden die Rede

[illegible] auch in den Sippar-Opferlisten häufig vor. Die Liste BM [illegible]288 (Nbk 8.4.24) bezeugt eine Lieferung von Schafen des Königs, die an den Hirten der Opfergaben des Ebabbar abgegeben wurden. Die Schafe werden nach Babylon gebracht und als *tukku*, d.h. als „regelmäßiges Opfer" geschlachtet.

[illegible] diesen Personen „übergeben" wurden. Man könnte eventuell beim Masten eines Opferschafs an eine Verpflichtung oder eine Art Abgabe der Mieter der „Häuser" denken, viel [illegible] gehörten. Man kann zwei Erklärungen anbieten.

4. In einigen Mietverträgen kommen zusammen mit dem Mietzins Bestimmungen über andere Leistungen zur Miete. Diese Nebenleistung, der *nupu* ist in Silber dreimal [illegible] Tum des Tempels beschränkt.

[illegible] rung haben: die alternative [illegible] zur Miete". These nicht unbedingt ausschließen soll. Diese zweite und auch hypo[illegible] zwischen der Terminologie der Verwaltungsurkunden des Ebabbar (vor allem der *niqu Sippar*-Listen) und jener der Be[illegible]

In den Verwaltungsurkunden wird folgendermaßen Bezug auf Opferschafe aus den Königsherden und Opferschafen aus den Häusern genommen:

Königsherden →	(*bit uri*)[32] →	*rē'i gimē*	→ *niqū*-Opfer (des Königs)
Tempelherden →	(*bit uri*) →	*rē'i gimē*	→ *niqu*-Opfer
Tempelherden →	Häuser		→ *niqu*-Opfer[33]

Die Bestallungsurkunden [illegible] gabe von Tempelpfründen durch den König bzw. Tempel und [illegible] Anteilen an den Opfern des Königs bzw. des [illegible] die dem Begünstigten [illegible] Pfründe zustehen.[34] In diesem Zusammenhang ist von *niqu šarri* und *niqu karibūti* die Rede.

9 Siehe z.B. die Texte VS 5 61, VS 5 64, VS 5 [illegible] F. Joannes, TEBR Nr. 86 und weitere Belege in CAD N/2, 343a.

0 Siehe CAD K, 38b.

1 [illegible] Ninive and das babylonische Königssiegel", AfO 46–47 (1999–2000), 156–182, bes. 16[illegible]

2 „Mastrationen".

[illegible] *adu nitaᵐᵉᵈ* / *ša ka-ri-bi* „von den Groß- und Kleinvieh-Opfern [illegible] *bu*". Diese Texte sind in der Regel auf [illegible] die Tontafel BM 77611+77612, s. die Edition in R. Da R[illegible]

Die Bedeutung des Wortes *karābu* ist unklar; es kommt nur in bestimmten Typen von Texten vor und scheint [illegible] gen von Opfergaben wird der Begriff in der Wörterbuchliteratur [illegible] erstaunlich.[15] Dieser Ansatz [illegible] Determinativ [illegible] klar, daß für den Begriff eine neutralere Bedeutung anzusetzen ist.

[illegible] *karābi* gelegentliche Opfergaben, in [illegible] sehen wird.[17] Eine ähnliche Position nimmt [illegible] frommer Spender" vorgeschlagen hat und überdies vermutete, daß die [illegible] [illegible] Nach [illegible]

Vielleicht [illegible] Pro[illegible] Kö[illegible] Verse[illegible] den so gut wie nie zu finden ist.

✓ *Schuldbriefe*

[illegible] Spender [illegible] Mann [illegible] Mann [illegible] Wesen [illegible] darfen verschiedene „Spender" subsummiert sei[illegible]

15 AHw. 449a: 1. „ein Farbstpriester" (CAD K. 216b: 1. (designating a person performing a specific religious act): 1.a „designating a p[illegible] ing of the pious" übersetzt.

16 Zur Problematik des Begriffes s. R. Da Riva—F. Frahm (Anm. 14), 167, kommen [illegible]

17 [illegible]

18 BBLA 55 mit Anm. [illegible] verstanden, also geht es um Opfer des Königs bzw. [illegible]

1 die im Brief SAA 10, Nr. 353 genannten Personen
2 [illegible] werden [20]
3 [illegible]

[illegible]

[20] [illegible]

The Kassite Cross Revisited

Erica Ehrenberg — New York

[illegible] Museum [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] Nippur [illegible] Wilfred [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] immediate access to the [illegible] material. Without his kind, unreserved assistance, this research would not have been fully realized. Hence, it is with pleasure that I write a piece for his Festschrift based on two of those Babylon impressions whose study he facilitated. These impressions have recently been published by the editor of the volume, C. Wunsch, and H. Baker and their drawings are reproduced here (fig. 1a, b)[1]. The focus of this present study is the meaning of the cross that appears among the symbols [illegible]

An archetypal symbol, the cross makes its appearance in protohistoric times, particularly in Iran. It is [illegible] with horizontal [illegible] Maltese cross [illegible] motif of some Susa I pottery [illegible] The cross sees its florum in the second half of the second millennium B.C. Kassite [illegible] and hence is called the Kassite cross. [illegible] the meaning of the Kassite cross abstruse to modern scholarship.

1 [illegible] Wunsch, "Neo-Babylonian Notaries and their Use of Seals," in W. W. Hallo [illegible] *Seals and Sealing Impressions* (CRRA 45, Part II), Bethesda, Maryland [illegible] 2 [illegible] New York 1992, [illegible] are pictured in [illegible]

[illegible] of the sun/Šamaš, who more commonly is shown as the winged disk. He points to the fact that on pendant necklaces worn by Neo-Assyrian kings in statuary and reliefs, the cross is [illegible] disk of the [illegible] of the cross [illegible] from the winged disk. Recognizing that these variants likely have differing associations [illegible] modalities with the Assyrian king and remarks on the supremacy of Šamaš as ruler of the [illegible] (aside from the pendant) of Šamši-Adad (and by extension Adad-nirari) that this garb is [illegible] two Assyrian kings to find acceptance among Babylonians, as well as on the evidence of Kassite cylinders and the British Museum Babylon impressions, it is here suggested that the [illegible] ed with supreme divinity, or Marduk, in Babylonia.

[illegible] seen assumed by the paramount deity of the Babylonians, namely Marduk.[7] While

5 P. Calmeyer, "Das Zeichen der Herrschaft – Ohne Šamaš wurde nicht gegeben," AMI 17 (1984) 135.

4 Photographs of these stelae are available in J. Boehmer, [illegible] *Assyrische Bildsteine und* [illegible] Šamši-Adad, and 164 for Adad-nirari.

7 [illegible] in A. Scharff and A. Moortgat, *Ägypten und* [illegible] *im Altertum*, Munich 1950, 405, speaks of Šamši-Adad's Babylonian wife and his inscriptions utilizing second-millennium Babylonian language.

6 Calmeyer (see n. 3).

Calmeyer (see n. 3).

8 A. Moortgat, "Der Ob[illegible] 93 as also of the opinion that the Kassites b[illegible] but maintains that it is a sur[illegible] Neo-Assyrian royal earring that resembles the cross alb[illegible]

[illegible] *mušhuššu* dragon became standard during the Kassite period,[9] especially [illegible] *kudurru* [illegible] spade and [illegible] dragon [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] divine [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] attempted to solidify their [illegible]

[illegible] Marduk [illegible] displaced Enlil and Anu.[10] [illegible] among the symbols on the *kudurru*s, represents Marduk [illegible] tal.[14]

[illegible]

[illegible] spade as symbol of Marduk in Old Babylonian sources, and that the *mušhuššu* was [illegible] Sophisticated Polytheism," in H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (eds.) *Unity and Diversity* [illegible] [illegible] W. Sommerfeld *Der Aufstieg Marduks. Die Stellung Marduks in der babylonischen* [illegible] and the review thereof in W. G. Lambert, "Studies in Marduk," BSOAS 9 (1984) [illegible]

11 W. Sommerfeld, "The Rise of Marduk: Some Aspects of Divine Exaltation," Sume [illegible]

[illegible]

13 Sommerfeld, see n. 10), 18[illegible]

14 J. Oates, *Babylon*, rev. ed. [illegible]

15 Drawings of Kassite seals are readily available in D. M. Matthews, *Principles of* [illegible]

[illegible] approached by worshiper with symbols in the field between the two figures; worshiper [illegible] is present [illegible] the top of [illegible] Maltese [illegible] possibility of a difference in meaning, but this is diminished by the occasional Maltese Kassite exam- [illegible] other Kassite symbol, and resembles the assumed sun-symbol on Old Babylonian seals with drilled central circle surrounded by a circle of smaller drillings.[19]

[illegible] stands on the ground-line before the figure, in contrast to symbols that usually hover in the field.[20] [illegible] ngful, then the cross should be viewed as an alternative Marduk symbol.

[illegible] grain of corn suggestion, E.D. van Buren notes that as a [illegible] one rhomb could be [illegible] rhomb is an abstract symbol, and not known to have been a tangible object of devotion.

16 For example, see Matthews (see n. 15), nos. 25, 30, 34, 36, 41–47, 53, 96, 112, 128 [illegible]

18 For the Hermitage seal, see Matthews (see n. 15) [illegible]

19 [illegible] but it hovers as the sole symbol in the field above [illegible] standards, see E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near* [illegible] *ns I: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* [illegible] Bollingen Series 14), Washington, D.C. [illegible]

20 E.D. van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in* [illegible] *n Art* (AnOr 23), Rome 1945, 115

Similarly, it does not appear on [illegible] the stelae on which are [illegible] to represent sculptured icons, mounted on pedestals, of the deities before whom the oaths con- [illegible] were sworn. [illegible] exception [illegible] Museum Sippar tablet [illegible] expression dated to year twenty-seven of Darius I and published by J. MacGinnis.[24] The impression [illegible] relevant here [illegible] MacGinnis [illegible] the suggestion that the prominence of the cross [illegible] indicates that they [illegible] deities in the Kassite pantheon.

Turning to the use of the cross [illegible] Neo-Assyrian kings, it cannot be said [illegible] as it did [illegible] Babylonia [illegible] appear [illegible] Assyria [illegible] known [illegible] with cross [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] Neo-Assyrian [illegible] disk as does the star of Ištar. Enclosure in a disk once again [illegible] the supreme, cosmic nature of the deity represented by the cross. The other [illegible] on the necklace are: star of Ištar, crescent of Sîn, horned crown of Aššur and [illegible] of Adad. Aššurnaṣirpal [illegible] Neo-Assyrian [illegible] disk.[26] [illegible] Neo-Assyrian Assurnasirpal in the ninth century that Assyria began to reassert its power, on the wane since the [illegible] Babylonia [illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible] *985–860 B.C.*, London, 1914, pl. II, and Berker Kuhn (see n. 40, no. 1[illegible]).

26 See Budge (see n. 25), pl. [illegible]

[illegible] J. MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of* [illegible]

2 E. Nagel-Strommenger and B. Hrouda, "Isin (Isan Bahriyat), AfO 25 (19[illegible]) 4[illegible]

23 See Börker-Klähn (see n. 40) [illegible]

24 As above, n. 17.

[illegible] *985–860 B.C.*, London, 1914, pl. II, and Börker-Klähn (see n. 40, no. 1[illegible])

26 See Budge (see n. 25), pl. [illegible]

there is a Neo-Assyrian cult commentary that identifies the figure of the Assyrian king with [illegible] as well as evidence of the association of Marduk with Assur as early as the Middle Assyrian period.[27]

Assurnasirpal's son and successor, Shalmaneser III, maintained good relations with Babylon, even signing a treaty with the Babylonian ruler who seems to have been independent of the Assyrians. Like his father, Shalmaneser respected Babylonian culture and made a show of it by supporting Babylonian cult centers.[28] It is not surprising then that Shalmaneser was also partial to a pendant necklace including the symbol of the cross, as worn by his father from Assur,[29] and perhaps by his son from Kalhu.[30] Although the pendant was fashioned in the form of a winged disk, it is not certain whether it was a star or a cross. Many of the disks are triangular, which suggests that the pendant is a cross. Since the Assyrians [illegible] as both a god and a symbol, it is difficult to argue that the winged disk was [illegible] to the cross. Moreover, it is hard to see why [illegible] when the cross was already recognized as a pendant.[31]

Although [illegible] between Assyria and Babylonia [illegible] Shalmaneser's successor, Šamši-Adad V, [illegible] treaty upending Assyria, whose monarch wreaked military revenge, overthrew successive Babylonian rulers, and assumed the olden title of the land, "King of Sumer and Akkad." The stelae of Šamši-Adad and Adad-nirari III [illegible] the cross [illegible] two [illegible] large pendant [illegible] cross. [illegible] both [illegible] and [illegible] of Kassite [illegible] likely reflects at least historic, if not current, sartorial [illegible].[32] It would be fitting for Šamši-Adad, as the Assyrian king, to lay claim to Babylonia [illegible] have adorned his chest with a large image of the god whose [illegible] and he had conquered, thereby advertising the terrestrial [illegible] dence seems to point to the cross as a symbol of Marduk.

27 B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Irub. Die [illegible]graphische und ideologische Programmatik der* [illegible] Middle Assyrian Marduk cult.

28 Oates (see n. 14), 109–110.

29 [illegible] London 1938, pl. I; and Börker-Klähn (see n. 4), no. 148.

30 [illegible]

31 See above, n. 4, for references to illustrations.

32 [illegible] dated to the Kassite period [illegible] and with them and the circular reason [illegible] associated with Kassite iconography.

An oft-cited hallmark of the reign of Adad-[illegible] Babylonian [illegible] Nabû [illegible] Nineveh, taken as a sign of these rulers' Ba[illegible] [illegible] W. Hallo [illegible] Babylonian perspective [illegible] may [illegible] from Babylon.[35] The son of Marduk, Nabû gradually gained stature as a supreme deity [illegible] Babylonian[36] [illegible] Nabû [illegible] Assyrian Marduk [illegible] play of the god's symbols [illegible] emblem in the image of the cross. In the upper field surrounding the king's head [illegible] which commonly features among the divine symbols accompanying the A[illegible] [illegible] apparently promoted the Babylonian cult of Nabû, it would seem *de rigueur* to include [illegible] [illegible] tant. If the cross is indeed symbolic of supreme Babylonian divinity, as personified by Marduk [illegible] god's identity and multi-valence by also representing him and his son in [illegible] [illegible] Nabû [illegible] Marduk [illegible] King of Sumer and Akkad." Among the narrative reliefs from his Central Palace [illegible] Nineveh are scenes of the siege of a southern land, clearly Babylonia, perhaps even Babylon

[illegible] cited above [illegible] cult of Nabû becomes meaningful in Assyria in the first millennium but had antecedents in Middle Assyrian times with the founding of the first Nabû temple in Assur during the reign of Shalmaneser I in the [illegible]

35 W. W. Hallo and W. [illegible] 1998: 136.

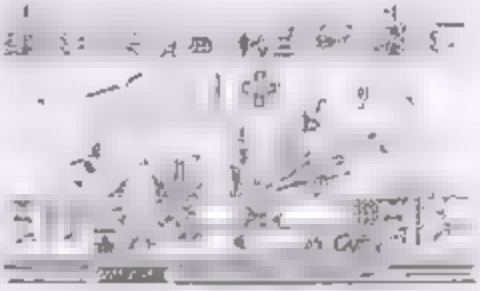
36 Lambert (see n. 10: 1975): 198; W. G. Lambert, "Nabû Hymns on Cylinders," in B. Hruška [illegible] "Divine Love Lyrics from the Reign of Abī-eshuḫ," Mitteilungen des Institutes für O[illegible]

itself. Found in disarray, the reliefs have been reordered so that the Babylonian campaign [illegible] audi-
ence (fig. 4).[27] In the upper field, before the king, float three symbols, in a line: a crescent, a circle with a smaller inscribed circle, and the cross. It is common for the king to face [illegible] thus be Marduk in appropriate abstract form to accompany the celestial symbols and embody [illegible] and wore a cross pendant. Tiglath-Pileser himself sports a necklace with cross pendant in another one [illegible] worn by Assurnasirpal and Shalmaneser [illegible] with multiple pendants, in this case crescent, cross, star, horned crown, and lightning bolt.

[illegible] like Tiglath-Pileser [illegible] Babylon, whose ruler had enlisted southern tribes and Elamites to agitate against Assyria, and [illegible] bly including the cross, and that is on his stela from Nahr-at-Kalb, although the prese[illegible] wear the cross pen[illegible] viewed as the cultural capital of the world.[28] Sennacherib took the Marduk statue from Babylon to Assyria, and strove to replace worship of Marduk with that of Assur, while the Assyrians eventually rationalized the existence of the Marduk temple in Assur by devising [illegible] the fashion of displaying the cross never seems to have been revived.

[illegible] British Museum tablets that spurred this investigation. These impressions (fig. 1a, b) [illegible]

[illegible] relays that the king "marched to the territory between the rivers," which must be a reference to the Babylonia[illegible]



Ur-gigir, a Sumerian Cosmopolitan

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the guidance of Sir Leonard Woolley in a joint expedition by the British Museum and [illegible] uncovered. These texts, which are currently kept in the British Museum, the University [illegible] of Ur's wide-ranging administrative system. The majority are balanced accounts dating to [illegible] Dynasty of Ur.

Among the thousands of clay tablets uncovered by the excavators at Ur, one was found which had been impressed by a cylinder seal carved with unique imagery. This imagery [illegible] Apzu, indicating that its owner, Ur-gigir, was a truly cosmopolitan Sumerian. This man, the extraordinary scene depicted on his seal and the symbolism it contains is the focus of this paper.

1. I would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and the curators of the cuneiform [illegible]

2. I am indebted to R. de Maaijer for access to his Ur data bank. Special thanks go [illegible]

[illegible] activities of the textile manufacturing process.[4] At the time Ur was, along with Lagaš, one of the centers of the textile industry of the Ur III Empire.[5] The text [illegible] weaving workforce [illegible] barl of approximately 12,000 to 13,000 employees [illegible] president of the weaving mills. The extensive nature of this organization is reflected [illegible] the chariot

1. The Man and His City

Ur [illegible] in the British Museum, a balanced account that dates to the eighth year of Šu-Sueen's reign.[6] [illegible] look at seal fig. 1, I would like to mention the context [illegible] because it highlights Ur-gigir's place in [illegible] 398 pieces of cloth of [illegible] quality has he received, delivered by the scribe Ur-Šianna [illegible] brought (in). Ur-Gigir has received in Gaesh [illegible]

[illegible] nor. We learn from [illegible]

7 Wiseman 1972: 153–154 prefers the translation "finisher" instead of "fuller".

8 For an overall view of the Ur III textile industry, see Waetzoldt 1972; for Ur specifically, pp. [illegible]

9 Cf. UET III no. 1581 (IS 2); UET III no. 1731 (IS 7); UET III no. 1654 (IS [illegible]): Lagaš dumu gir dub-sar ba [illegible]

10 See UET III no. 1600 (IS 4); UET III no. 1603 (IS 4): Lu-bala šu ga ᵈazlag [illegible]

11 [illegible] preserved. There is an erasure on the obverse of the tablet, over which the scribe wrote the corrected quantity of cloth. The tablet was first written and then Ur-gigir's seal was rolled upon its obverse and reverse. The tablet's find spot is unknown; it was probably uncovered, together with the majority of the textile texts, during the third season at the Dubar mound.

12 Probably due to a lack of documentation, the archive links Ur-gigir's activity only with [illegible] like straw and burdocks and thus could not be finery and [illegible]

13 [illegible] ki Ur ᵈŠu-an-na dub-sar-ta, 30 ki Lu-ᵈNanna kuš-ta, 47 ki Ur ᵈIštaran [illegible] ki A-sag-ga ù dumu-na-ra, 15 ki Šu-na-mu-ĝa-ta [illegible] sag uš-bar tug mu-tukuₓ mu-TUM Ur-ᵉᵍᵃᵐᵉᵉ ḫu ba-an-ti, šà Ga[illegible]

14 [illegible]

that Ur-gigir's place of employment was Gaeš, where he held several supervis[illegible] [illegible] daily work. Later he was most likely promoted to dispatch-rider[illegible] — an interesting position befitting the meaning of [illegible]

[illegible] which was founded by Sulgi, the é-Nanna, the Gipar of the high priestess (en), a meta[illegible] of empire-wide impo[illegible] Ur-gigir's seal offers evidence about religious concepts during the Third Dynas[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] such a way that they come close to the [illegible]es beneath but do not seize them. Several [illegible] carved inscription, the scene itself was executed in a mediocre manner.

[illegible] questions and a fecund range of interpretations. Below, I will attempt to present [illegible]

3. *Three Symbols and Their Significance*

[illegible] placed either above, beneath or within the inscription, or between the main anthropomor[illegible] placed in a contextual relationship to each other. Furthermore, his seat can be seen as a link [illegible] replaced by symbols.[14]

[illegible] his seat does not show an eagle seizing two creatures, in contrast to imagery in the form of an [illegible] god Ningirsu.[15] Consequently the question arises, who [illegible] only three depicted? This triad was surely not constructed on a whim.

[illegible] has been a figure of rich symbolic significance, spanning a wide variety of cultures and

[illegible] similar to the one [illegible]

[illegible] two herbivores on Ur III seals from Lagas, cf. Fischer 1997: 149 with fn. 3.6.

[illegible]

worldviews

[illegible]

[illegible]

16 The Sumerian word for eagle is made up of the words strength + bird (a^mušen). Cf. W [illegible]

15 [illegible]

7 [illegible]

4 [illegible] an-na, 5 sisḫur gi₄-par₄ ᵈNin-[illegible]

same king as "the one who was named by An [illegible] Furthermore, the "Festival of the Heavens/An" (iti ezem [illegible] na) was celebrated in the eleventh month of the Ur calendar[22] [illegible] made [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the Heavens [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] the heavens and the eagle of the heavens

[illegible] sea. The Apzu [illegible] foundation of irrigated agriculture. Enki/Ea was impo[illegible] for the agricultural cycle, where irrigation [illegible] and its main god had always played a major role dur[illegible] Dynasty of U[illegible]

For the inscriptions, see Frayne 1997, 328 no. 17 (šeh an-na) and 322 no. 12 (mu-pà-da an-na).

[illegible] to the month of the "Festival of the Heavens" in Ibbi-Suen's first year of his reign [illegible] 9) lists Sa-anna ("the one of the heavens") together with Lu-dingira [illegible] see as well UET III no. 242 (IS 7). According to Sallaberger 1993/1, 180 [illegible] Heaven/An" (siskur má an-na-ka) in the month of the "Festival of the Heavens/An". The moon-god's epithet was "Gr[illegible] Boat of the Heavens" (má gu-la an-na), cf. Tallqvist 1938, 143. For the "Boat" as the moo[illegible] in its last stage of waxing, including the full moon, see Sto[illegible] 1992, 249.

24 Cf. UET III no. 1659 (IS 2): cloth delivered by Lu-sukkalarka, received by the finisher Ibn[illegible] Adad.

25 [illegible] true splendor of heaven").

[illegible] from Ur was an unforgettable sight seen at dawn or shortly af[illegible] sunrise, shimmering in the mirage twelve miles away. Its zi[illegible]rat, a ruined pile, then suddenly appeared to assume its [illegible] dramatically reanimated and transformed through a fine film of [illegible] the three moon festivals (Sallaberger 1993/1, 59 with fn. 24[illegible]

However, the [illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible] Nergal [illegible] "[illegible] Nanna [illegible] Nanna [illegible] the case with Babylon in later days (George 1993: [illegible] and Nanna. Such [illegible] moon and were treated [illegible]

While the eagle on Ur-gigir's seal embodies the heavenly realm of An, the *labinu* symbolizes [illegible] water, which is a well-attested element in third millennium cosmogenesis.

This leads us to the remaining symbol to be analyzed on Ur-gigir's seal — the snake. [illegible] has [illegible] iconography of this motif found on other cylinder seal impressions such as fig. 4, which depicts [illegible] tree".[30] Ningišzida was an important deity in the Ur pantheon. This can be seen from personal names containing the god's name as a theophoric element (+ ur-), in the case, for example, of the two officials named Ur-Ningišzida documented in texts from Ur. One of [illegible] named after Nur-bari-dab[31] worked in Ur as a purification priest of Nanna.

Ningišzida was associated with pastures and fields,[32] growth and decay, snakes and the netherworlds. The death of vegetation from mid-summer to mid-winter was embodied [illegible]

[illegible] rituals, cf. ES ŠuIgal Hymn 56: "shrine abzu, forty days of Ur" (Green 1975, 162). See also UET III no. 106 (IS 4): abzu dNanna [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Ew [illegible] where [illegible] Nanna [illegible] Nanna [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] See UET III no. 1107 (date not preserved): ki Ur-dNin-giš-zi-da ša₂ gur₇-ambar mah ta [illegible]

[illegible] UET III no. 1686 (IS 4): ki Ur-dNin-giš-zi-da [illegible]

[illegible] UET III no. 1906 (IS 7): ki Ur Nur-bari-da [illegible] dNanna [illegible]

[illegible] fields, cf. Waetzoldt 1997: 40 with fn. 69. In Nanna, which may be identical with [illegible]

[illegible] water. Two seal impressions from Lagaš further emphasize Ningišzida's relationship with [illegible] dragon lived in the midst of the sea, according to an Ur III incantation.[38]

[illegible]

1 From Cosmic Triad to Regional Symbolism

[illegible] tional qualities of Ur-gigir's sea.

[illegible] g regional symbolism that was associated with specific deities. One should [illegible] especially true when one takes into consideration the fact that political affairs on earth

[illegible] rd 1997: 100). "Four (pe[illegible] An. See UET III no. 68 (year not given; 11 month): offerings for Ningišzida (ša-ŝkar dNin-[illegible]-zi-da) in the month of the Festival of the Heavens: An [illegible] Horowitz 1998: 229. For the creation of heaven and earth from water, see [illegible]

[illegible] A / dumu Ur-zikum-ma, the other seal (Fischer 1997, no. 14; year not given), was the [illegible] en inscription, Ur dAl la / dumu Ur-zikum-ma / má laḫ4 dNin-gi[illegible] vizier's name contains Ala as a theophoric element who was Ningišzida's vizier; in addition

38. Cf. W[illegible] with which according to Wiggermann must have [illegible] ar is brought forth by Sea. Wiggermann 1989: 118.

39. Note that, according to Horowitz 1998: 268, "most names for earth are also names for the [illegible]

[illegible] Nevertheless, differences in symbolism and imagery do exist.

Below, I will discuss three examples of seals, each of which contains one of [illegible]

[illegible] texts from Lagaš (cf. Fischer 1997, passim) and can be seen as a symbol of regional impor[illegible] administration in Lagaš, owned a seal engraved with his region's symbol, the eagle.

Another administrative sector was called the Great Marshes (ambar-mah), [illegible]

The Great Marshes were significant [illegible] weavers and bleachers. Numerous seals from Ur were engraved with the [illegible] those of individuals who were involved in the expenditure of barley rations. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] According to the texts, Lugal-azida took cloth at Gaeš, the Great Marshes (ambar-mah). [illegible]

[illegible] CT L 2 III no. 1658 (IS 3, [illegible] Lugal-azida took in charge via the scribe Lu-Nimsabur, whose seal was rolled upon to[illegible] UET III no. 98 (IS 3) [illegible] same topic, this time cloth was received via the scribe Nam-ea-nuna [illegible]

[illegible]

3. Cf. UET III no. 1370 (date not preserved): "in the Great Marshes, in front of Ur (ta-sa) ambar-mah [illegible]

4. See UET III no. 1107 (date not preserved): the official in charge of this granary was Ur-Nin-giš-zi-da ka-gur [illegible]

[illegible]

of Lu-Nanna, the overseer of the weavers at the Great Marshes.[46] Agua occupied the same position as Ur-[illegible]amma, who was a servant of Ur-Ningišzida, the overseer of the weavers in Sanamugi.[47] Agua's seal is of [illegible] goddess. Visible between the introducing and seated goddess is a kneeling *labmu*. Additionally, just as with Lu-Ninšubur's seal, a crescent is engraved above the worshipper's head.

It is not [illegible] to find the *labmu* as a regional element for people working at the Great Marshes. There [illegible] logical connection with Enki/Ea, the god of the southern [illegible].[48]

Fig. 4 shows a standard crowned by the snake-dragon *mušhuššu*. The owner of the seal [illegible] introduction to a seated goddess. An addi[illegible] on, which is typologically [illegible] for a four-line inscription and the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] above. The placement of these three elements was not by mere chance.

[illegible]

47 Cf. UET III no. 1721 (IS 6): Ur-zikum ma-ra-a Ur-dNin-giš-zi-da

48 [illegible] pot is unknown, dates to Ibbi-Suen's reign and carries a seal impression on obverse and reverse. [illegible]

50 [illegible] i-dab; see also UET III no. 1096 (IS 7) and UET IX no. 1106 (date not given). Of extreme[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] erected along straight lines at [illegible] pointed towards the south. [illegible] cosmological concept that [illegible]

Let us look at the [illegible] one town on the wall line [illegible] bricks stamped with Amar-S[illegible] [illegible] assumes that the [illegible] Erik "has beloved Ab[illegible] the temple in the eastern pa[illegible] [illegible] both [illegible]

[illegible] a temple erected under U[illegible]

1 For the reed shrine of S[illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible]

4 [illegible]

5 [illegible]

[illegible] Nin-gišzida[58] Since [illegible] Ningišzida [illegible] the temple of Nin-gišzida. [illegible] in his own temple during the Ur III period.[59] In addition, we can see a clear cultic [illegible] periods.

[illegible] the sun [illegible] the periodical ritual washing of Ningišzida is documented for Ur in the eighth month [illegible].[60]

Enki/Ea and Ningišzida have other qualities that were important for maintaining the [illegible] established by the gods on earth and in heaven. Enki/Ea was the [illegible] Ningišzida [illegible] with law and order not only in the netherworld, but also on earth (Wiggermann 2000 [illegible] world.

[illegible] bolically important layout found in the city of Ur itself.

[illegible] discussion, however, T. Richter questions this interpretation, cf. Richter 1999, 427–429 [illegible] father Nin-azu (^{d}Nin-a-zu), his spouse Nin-azimu (^{d}Nin-a-zi-mu), and other deities associated with Ningišzida. Cf. also UET I nos. 68 and 69 (no year is given for either text), nos. 264 and [illegible] (IS 7) is no proof against a separate temple of Ningišzida. This balanced account mentions offer[illegible] Dijdijqah: for the inscription, cf. Frayne 1997, 226 no. 2042.

58 For Ningišzida's temple in Girsu at the edge of the town see [illegible]ernier 1994, 1, 299.

59 Cf. UET [illegible] 85 (IS 4), expenditure of cloth [illegible] festival of Šagar-a-tuga (^{d}Nin-giš-zi-da-ka-šè). An economic text from the sec[illegible] provenience is unknown — mentions barley for the fes[illegible]

60 [illegible]

6. [illegible]

In this paper we have seen that Ur-gigir's seal [illegible] imagery. I have provided an analysis of what I be[illegible] the fascinating figures gracing this intrigu[illegible] broad, the evidence fragmentary, but [illegible]

In addition, Ur-gigir's seal generates a wh[illegible] pretations that I will touch upon [illegible] space. One significant symbol that ha[illegible] mentioned, is the number three, the nu[illegible] clearly depicted on Ur-gigir's seal, wh[illegible] death.

The number three and its associated cosmic d[illegible] epic of Gilgames.[66] In this myth, the he[illegible] fights the celestial bull that was sent by A[illegible] underworld and the ghost of Enkidu comes [illegible] his domain beyond the cosmic ocean. On [illegible] ocean "and midway laid the waters of d[illegible] Anu[illegible]

The number three was also of [illegible] ages of field preparation: sowing, plough[illegible] scar the furrows of the land fel[illegible] commanded the rise of the waters that was im[illegible] got, as well as, in the Ur III period, three c[illegible] of the moon in the sky[68] the Akitu of [illegible] of the Seedbag Season in the seventh mon[illegible]

61 According to Babylonian astrono[illegible]

62 [illegible] sections 1 [illegible]

64 See CLT III no. 115 (N 5[illegible] the moon is in its house on [illegible]

each month. The moon's phases indicated the passage of time[65] according to the Babylonian hymns (Jacobsen 1976: 122). It was believed that the disappearance of the [illegible] passage [illegible] the underworld, marking the completion of the month.

[illegible] recurring cycles of beginning and end are reflected in the myth 'Enki and Ninhursag', where Enki in [illegible] Mother Goddess Ninhursag, his daughter Ninnisiga, and his granddaughter Ninkurra (Reiner 1993: 372–376). All three goddesses are linked with days — a multiple of [illegible] Mesopotamian [illegible] month — the average period of revolution of the moon around the earth [illegible] 29 days 12 hours [illegible] the Akkadian [illegible]

[illegible] completion is also reflected on Ur-gigir's seal where Enki and Ninhursag [illegible] ture, bears it off. The symbols cycle here is youth, maturity, and loss.

[illegible] combined archaeological and textual approaches. In many aspects, Ur-gigir's seal remains [illegible]

[illegible] text, which is documented for Ur. Significantly, this name is mentioned in a balanced account [illegible] far, see UET III no. 78[illegible] (AS 8), the seal that was impressed [illegible]

[illegible] 6 or 7 of the month were named "The Chariot." According to [illegible] this could be an abbreviation of "the crescent of a chariot," a segment of the wheel [illegible] 246–24[illegible] with reference to Hal[illegible]

B[illegible]

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Fig. 1

Fig. 2

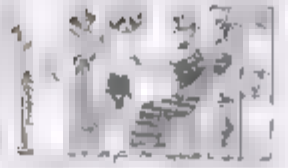


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

An Adoption Document from the Kisurra Collection in the British Museum

Irene Quaddee[illegible] Laurie[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] Museum [illegible] hundreds text [illegible] [illegible] Christopher Walker [illegible] [illegible] me his own notes on the texts. It is thus a pleasure for me to present a tablet from this [illegible] volume [illegible] [illegible] his document makes up a piece on its own and therefore may be published separately.

The Old Babylonian text corpus from Kisurra known until now consists of the docu[illegible] [illegible] Kisurra [illegible] and [illegible] 1982: 156 and Sommerfeld 1983: 205 [illegible]).[1] For the largest part, the documents record loans of barley and silver and administrative procedures. Besides [illegible] [illegible] provide [illegible] [illegible] Kisurra has been refined in several reviews of the book (Kingsbury 1980, Charpin 198[illegible] Sommerfeld 1983). [illegible] local rulers and the exact relations of the town to the more powerful kings of the [illegible] texts simply do not provide enough data for [illegible]

1 [illegible]

[illegible]

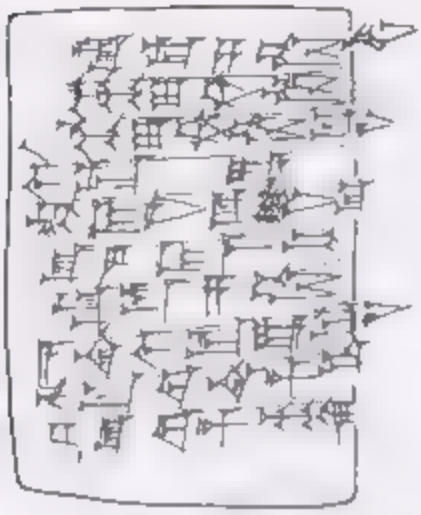
[illegible] Museum [illegible] texts presenting the [illegible] acquired by purchase in 1898 and [illegible] Kisurra. [illegible] originate from archives other than the excavated ones, the letter archive [illegible] and the documents kept in Baghdad and Yale — which are connected [illegible] FAOS [illegible]. Some witnesses and individuals from the BM [illegible] FAOS 2 texts, confirming the date and origin of the texts, but the [illegible]

[illegible] of one of the Kisurra rulers forms a first decisive means to identify Kisurra [illegible] phical and intrinsic parallels to these [illegible] many more documents to the site. [illegible] de of coarse clay, are most often cushion shaped. The script is [illegible] but not cursive. The loan and purchase documents are sealed [illegible] pectively. As will be illustrated by the [illegible] Kisurra [illegible] YOS [illegible]

[illegible] studied here, the Kisurra documents in the British Museum [illegible] cuts as a recipient in several of the [illegible] archive of one single organization [illegible] British Museum [illegible] from Kisurra.

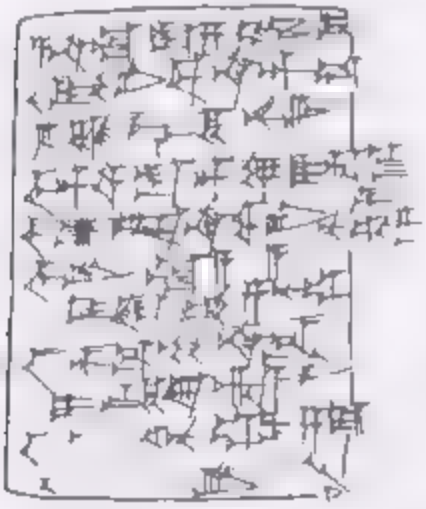
BM 85456

Obv

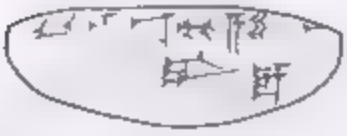


Lower edge

Rev



Upper edge



Seal

Transcription

Obv

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]
5 [illegible]
6 [illegible]
[illegible]
8 [illegible]
9 [illegible]
10 [illegible]

Lower Edge

11 [illegible]
12 [illegible]

Rev

1 [illegible] dumu [illegible]
14 [illegible] dumu [illegible]
15 [illegible]
16 [illegible]

[illegible] kara
18 [illegible]
19 dumu [illegible]
20 [illegible]
21 dumu [illegible]
22 [illegible] dumu [illegible]
23 [illegible] kara

Upper Edge

24 [illegible]
25 [illegible]

[illegible] damaged
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

Obverse

5 [illegible] Lamassatum, the daughter of Gulluptum, from her mother Gulluptum as [illegible]

6–10 If Lamass[illegible] her mother, "You are not my mother," she will seal her [illegible]

11–15 If Sumana says to Lam[illegible] her daughter, "You are not my daughter" (literally [illegible] her daughter [illegible] she (Sumana) does not have any claim (on Lamassatum) [illegible]

16–22 In front of Ur[illegible] son of Hušštum (?); Ušši-nawir, the gardener; Awilana son of Kanzanum; Damu[illegible] son of Sin-remēni and I[illegible]lnum, son of Zana[illegible]

23–25 The twelfth month of the ye[illegible] King.
Sealed by Gulluptum, daug[illegible]

Commentary

[illegible]

[illegible] Nuhušša as a [illegible] thus illustrates tha[illegible] Kisurra documents. Maybe this lack of re[illegible] the Kisurra tablets must be seen in the light of the [illegible] the course of the Old Bab[illegible] ionian period. Anyhow, [illegible] the status [illegible] the fact that she is a former slave girl. This hypothe[illegible] mother if she does not fulfil her [illegible]

[illegible] expression nam dumu ni se in [illegible] fragmentary adoption document TIM [illegible] as well. Therefore [illegible] text also originates from Kisurra. The standard phrase for adoption is *ana mārūtim leqem* [illegible] nam dumu ni se [illegible]. Perhaps read the sign NI as ham "to h[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the sign DU [illegible] Sumerian verb du$_{11}$, a phenomenon [illegible]

[illegible] line 10 is the S[illegible] a.sum reflects corrupt Sumerian. The form probably [illegible] nah indicates the *mari* stem in the original ver[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] not my daughter" in this contract, the ca[illegible] probably analogous to the comparable phrasing [illegible]

[illegible] PN [illegible] correctly rep[illegible] claim on PN [illegible] girl [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Date

[illegible] the document [illegible] the name [illegible] kings of [illegible] neighboring [illegible] are preceded by a AN sign. The local kings are not dei[illegible]

[illegible] which is encountered only in documents from Kisurra, and which is the only year-name of Sumu-abum [illegible]

However, year-names containing the name of the king followed by lugal-e only always refer to [illegible] Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-el were contemporaries — a fact acknowledged since the publication of some [illegible] letters (a-Adam, 1967) but not fully evaluated — but also that the order of the year-names in the list is corrupt. Sumu-abum's first regnal year must not be identified with the "year in which he built the great wall of Babylon"[4] and could rather be "the year in which Sumu-abum [illegible] year-name of Sumu-abum in Kisurra, and why this year-name is attested only in K[illegible]

[illegible] (1983: 220–221) may be [illegible]

[illegible] Sumu-abum. However, he [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] 28 under the heading "Sumu-abum 1," without further comment.

[illegible] be countered if we acknowledge that the year-name on the document (Gautier, Dilbat 1) belongs to Sumu-la-el (attested as his sixth year-name in the list) and that Sumu-la-el was the "sovereign" of Sumu-abum, by whom the oath is sworn.

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Ein neubabylonisches Rezept zur Berauschung und Ausnuchterung

Ni[illegible] P. Heeßel — Heidelberg

Wo Menschen in gesell[illegible]er Runde beisammen sitzen, gehören Bier, Wein oder Sp[illegible]ituosen oft zu den bevorzugten Getränken. Der Genuß [illegible]en Alkohol wurde auch in der mesopo[illegible] Sprichwort [illegible] macht ein Haus angenehm"[4]. In einem sumerischen Trinklied wird ebenfalls die Freude am Biertrinken lebendig zum Ausdruck gebracht: „Mundschenk, Dienst[illegible] Brauer sollen aufwarten, während ich mich dem Überfluß an Bier zuwende, m[illegible] herrlich, mich wur[illegible] Alkohol [illegible] des Genusses [illegible] Wein [illegible] entsp[illegible] der Mäßigung des Lebens [illegible] Zeit.

Doch die berauschende Wirkung des Alkohols hat auch ihre Schattenseiten. Können geringe Mengen von Bier oder Wein entspannen und versöhnlich [illegible] Genuß von größeren Mengen zur [illegible] des Urteilsvermögens und zu Ausfallerscheinungen.[5] Während [illegible] Briefwechsel [illegible] Pferde [illegible] gegeben Sanfter [illegible] mitten von Kahtu" ein nicht [illegible] Verhalten [illegible] kann ein Angestellter von [illegible] Sohn [illegible] Problemen [illegible] In Briefschreiber [illegible] Meister und Sachen [illegible] von [illegible]

Zu [illegible] Heilverfahren" in D. Charpin und F. Joannès, *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées [illegible] Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la XXXVIIe Rencontre A[illegible] 1991*, Paris 1992, 389–396, und J. Bottéro, „Boisson, banquet et la vie sociale en Mesopotamie" in L. Milano (Hrsg.), *Drinking in Ancient Societies. History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East* (HANES VI), Padua 1994, 3–13.

3 W. Rollig, *Das Bier im alten Mesopotamien*, Berlin [illegible]

5 M. Civil, „A Hymn to the Beer Goddess" in *Fs. Oppenheim*, Chicago 1964, 71–Z. 70–74. D[illegible]

4 Z[illegible] Scheitum" in *Al-Bahit. Fs. Joseph Henninger* (Studia Instituti Anthropos 28), St. Augustin [illegible] 324 und W. Farber, „Drogen im alten Mesopotamien — Sumerer und Akkader", in G. Völger (Hrsg.), *Rausch und Realität. Drogen im Kulturvergleich*, Köln 1981, 270–272 und [illegible]

5 CT 53 829, u.R., Rs. 4. Siehe S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I* (SAA 1, [illegible] angetrunkenen Zustand nicht erst in der Moderne ein [illegible]

6 ABL 85, Rs. 6. Siehe CAD S/1 15 b.

[illegible] der Akkadisten in der Tragödie [illegible] gewesen zu sein [illegible] Anweisungen [illegible] Bedürfnisse der Soldaten zeigt. Wenn [illegible] die Soldaten verkommen [illegible] Wenn trinken [illegible] zur Trunkenheit [illegible] Ausschweifungen [illegible] aber nicht [illegible] Soldaten [illegible] haben [illegible] das [illegible] dabei über die Menge [illegible] Kriege [illegible] Kriegen. In Kriegen Assurnaṣirpal III und Ilu hadda, in Assyrien mit den Worten ab: „Durch [illegible] Verlust der Selbstbeherrschung [illegible] Umherzugeln kam [illegible] Verstand [illegible] wieder durcheinander."

[illegible] daß der Beschwörer *tāšipu* „der über das Leben der Menschen wacht"[illegible] oder der Heilkundige *asû* über Mittel und W[illegible] verfügten, den Rauschzustand zu kurieren und für [illegible] [illegible] der [illegible] Mittel [illegible] zur Berauschung einer nüchternen Person erhält:

BM 59634 (82-7-14, [illegible])

Vs.	1	[*šá-kí-ir-ru ana su-um-mi-i*	Um einen Betrunkenen nüchtern zu
	2	'x SU MUN *ša* MAŠ DA	machen, gibst du ihm altes' [illegible] einer
	3	'NAG-*šu-nu i-ša-am mu*	Gazelle zu trinken und er wird nüchtern
	4	DIŠ KEMIN *bu-tu-ma ta*	Dito (= um einen Betrunkenen nüchtern
	5	*la ba-ši le-e-ti*	zu machen), zerstößt du ungekochte
o.R.	6	*ma* A MEŠ SUD *ta-la-bal*	Pistazien-Nüsse in Wasser selbst [illegible]
Rs.	7	NAG-*ši-ma*	durch, gibst (es) ihm zu trinken und er
	8	[illegible]	wird nüchtern.
	9	*ša-mu-u a-na ši-uk-ku-ru*	Um einen Nüchternen betrunken zu ma-
	10	*ra-pa-du ma ku-ru-un-nu*	chen, zerstößt du *rapādu*-Pflanze in Bier,
	11	[illegible]	selbst es durch, auf leerem Magen
	12	NI [illegible]	gibst du es ihm zu trinken und er wird
o.R.	13	[illegible]	betrunken werden.

[illegible] SAA 3) Helsinki 1989, 120, Nr. 50. Z[illegible]

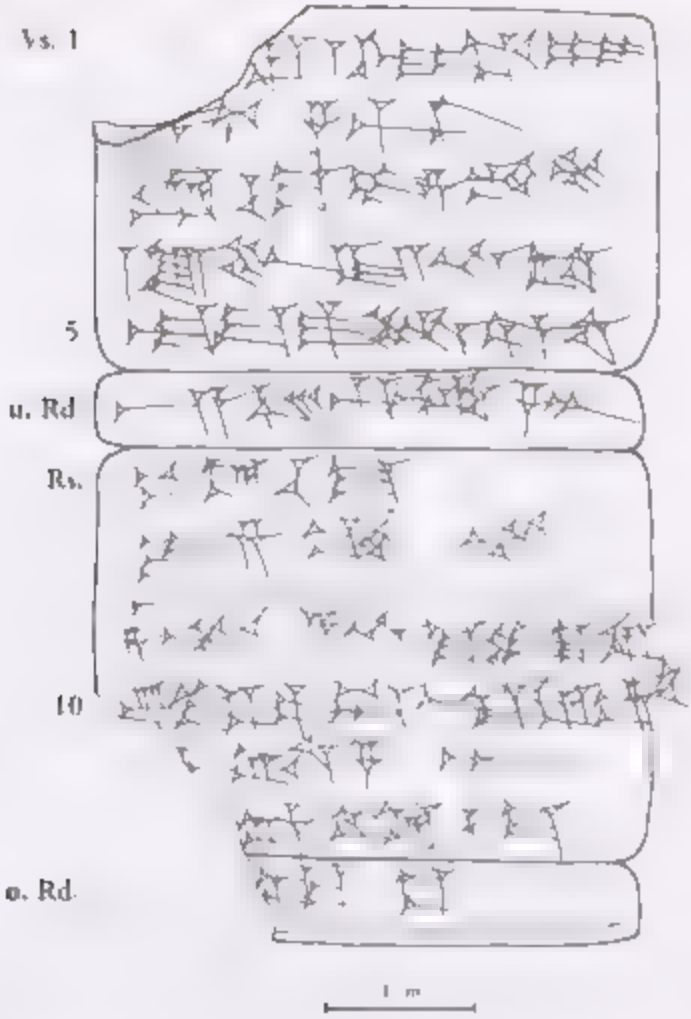
[illegible] und W. v. Soden, *Ar-Rabûu. Fs. Joseph* [illegible]

[illegible] Series SA GIG[illegible] in E. Leichty, Hrsg. [illegible] 48, A 69 und N 1 [illegible]

[illegible] Reade, „Rassam's Babylonian [illegible] 80, XXXI.1a

[illegible]

BM 59634



Obwohl das [illegible] erhaltene Fragment im Bruchformat [illegible] in der oberen linken Ecke recht beschädigt ist, fällt es [illegible] den Anfang der [illegible] Der Platz reicht höchstens für die Ergänzung eines Zeichens, wahrscheinlich [illegible] die erhaltenen Zeichenspuren [illegible] logographisch verstanden werden [illegible] Eine Lesung ŠUMUN erscheint [illegible] Zeichenspuren passend, jedoch [illegible] Gazelle" keine Flüssigkeit, die getrunken werden kann. Zahlreiche weitere [illegible] sich keine dieser sicher [illegible] Decknamen für Pflanzen darstellenden Rezeptbestandteile mit

der ersten [illegible] Zeile [illegible] in Klammern [illegible] Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, daß das Zeichen [illegible] dieser Stelle [illegible] Bl[illegible] zu [illegible] dings [illegible] in Rezepten häufig verschrieben.[13] In einigen Fällen handelt es sich hierbei sicher um Decknamen für Pflanzen.[14] andererseits konnte Blut aber auch direkt zu Tränken gegeben werden. [illegible] Beschreibung [illegible] dessen Sohn [illegible] drei Tage [illegible] zu trinken gab.[15]

Im [illegible] Text [illegible] Nummer A 215 zu bewahren [illegible] Neufassung beschreibt [illegible] Kurzer, BAM III, Nr. 260 publiziert hat. In den Zeilen [illegible] 0 bietet der Text ebenfalls Rezepte zur Berauschung und Ausnüchterung.[16]

[illegible] DIS NA *a-na su-uk-ku* [illegible]
2 KU KU ᵍᵉˢTU G *ina* ᵍᵉˢ.ADA *ḫal-ru-ḫus*
3 *ina* GEŠTIN SUB-*di* NAG-*ma i-sak-kir* (Strich [illegible]

[illegible] DIS KI MUN KU NIM KI MIN (Strich [illegible]

5 DIS KI MUN EŠ TAG [illegible]
6 [illegible]

[illegible] DIS NA *a-na su-um-me*
8 NU MUN ᵍᵉˢGEŠTIN KAᵣ A GÚ ᵍᵉˢGÍR MÚŠ[17]
9 *ta-al-qa-te ṭ-ṭa* [illegible]
10 *i-sa-am-mu* [illegible]

[illegible] für Pflanzen siehe F. [illegible] sumerischen Inhalts aus dem neubabylonischen Grab [illegible] in R. M. Boehm[illegible] *Gräber* (AUWE 10), Mainz 1995, 203–21.

[illegible] *Mesopotamienne*, Paris 1984, 52.

14 Siehe oben Fn. 12 und als Beispiel URU AN NA III 106–0 *a-mu-le* | AŠ MUD *pab-h*[illegible]

15 S. Parpola, *Letters from A[illegible] and Babylonian Scholars* (SAA 10), Helsinki 1993, Nr. 328 Rs. 2–[illegible]

16 Der Rest der Tafel [illegible] in Zeile 11 einen leider sehr beschädigten Herkunftsvermerk der [illegible] / [illegible] dass es sich bei der Tafel um eine *a-lik-ta*-Tafel des Kisir-Assur handelt [illegible]

17 [illegible] Texten, was allerdings die Niere einer [illegible] Zusammen[illegible] Bezugswort [illegible] Geschlechtspolarität im Maskulin zu erwarten ist. [illegible] *al-te* ein eigenes Lemma in CAD Ṣ 136a erhalten [illegible]

18 Die Lesung [illegible] als Hanf (*ina*) und Weizen (*kibrat*) ist unsicher; man würde für [illegible] GÍR.MEŠ erwarten. Vielleicht ist auch von einem sonst nicht zu belegenden [illegible]

19 Zur [illegible]

[illegible]3 Um einen Mann betrunken zu machen, bindest du Pulver vom Wannußbaum in ein Leinenkleid, legst (es) in Wein, gibst es (ihm) zu trinken und er wird betrunken.

[illegible]4 Um dito (machst du es) ebenso, (nur mit) der *saggilatu*-Pflanze.

[illegible]5–6 Um dito zerstoßt du die Niere einer Schlachtung, in Wein legst du e[illegible]

10 Um einen Mann nüchtern zu machen, ißt er wiederholt Samen [illegible] wein Pflanze, Hanf, Weizen (sowie) gekochten Schrot, (und) er wird nüchtern.

Ein Duplikat zu den beiden Rezepten der Zeilen 1–4 in A 215 ist in [illegible] (BAM IV Nr. 4 41), Rs. 7'–8', einer neuassyrischen Tafel [illegible] Rezepten [illegible] Erkrankungen der Harnwege [illegible]

[illegible]

8 DÙ.ŠÚ.MIN KU₆.ŠÚ.M *ina* [illegible] [illegible][20]

[illegible] dieses Rezept BAM [illegible] bemerkenswert, daß [illegible] Übersetzung [illegible] A 215 / [illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible] Zu [illegible] Br[illegible] Das [illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible] Die [illegible] [illegible] Stellung des *kurgarrû* daß nicht nur Betrunkene, die sowieso gerne [illegible] gen, sondern sogar Nüchterne keinen moralischen Anstoß daran nehmen [illegible] durch Schläge ins Gesicht zu erneuern.

Die [illegible] Rezept [illegible] Mensch [illegible] Nüchtern [illegible] Aus [illegible] Berauschung [illegible]

20 Die Spur [illegible] durch eine Kollation des Originals zu B[illegible]

21 So AHw 1081b, CAD S 256 und F. Köcher, BAM III S. X.

22 CT 15 47, Z. 108.

23 Dieser Beleg veranlaßte 1962 das CAD S 95 dazu, erstmals eine Bedeutung „nüchtern" sowie für das Adektiv *šamû* anzusetzen. Dem folgen auch die neuesten Übersetzungen [illegible] M. [illegible] Mari [illegible] *Orient ancien*, Paris 1970, 264, Z. 28; E. Reiner, *Your Thwarts in Pieces – Your Machinations in Mesopotamian Perspective*, [illegible] Haas, *Babylonischer Liebeszauber* [illegible]

[illegible] Kopf bekommen muß. [illegible] gleichen Situationen [illegible] diplomatische oder geschäftliche Verhandlungen [illegible] von Nutzen sein, ein sicheres Rezept zur Beruhigung des jeweiligen Verhandlungspartners zu kennen, auch wenn wir der [illegible]

[illegible]

K 71b iii 49–54 (BAM 575)[25]

49 DIŠ NA KAS NAG NAG *ina* SUHUS MEŠ *ša pa-ši-qa di-iq-ta mu-u-ti ana* [illegible]

50 NUMUN ᵈ*ám-ha-ra* NUMUN ᵈAS BAD 5 U HA MEŠ 1-*nis* SUD *ina* GEŠTIN [illegible]

51 [illegible]

52 *ti-en su la si bit* IU BIRGI II *su* GUB *za ana* TI-*su* ᵈIGI-*lim* ᵈIGI-*nir* ᵈ*Iar-mus* [illegible]

53 ᵈSIKIL ᵈAS KA.A AB BA ᵈNU TUH HA NUMUN ᵈSIG.GÁN GÁN ᵈ*kam-ka-du* [illegible]

54 1-*nis* SUD *ina* IGÁS *u* KAŠ *ana* IGI ᵈ*En la su bat ina ie-ru la-am* ᵈU [illegible]

49–50 [illegible] Sehkraft gering ist, zu seiner Genesung: [illegible] (es folgen Samen von fünf Pflanzen), (diese) fünf bitteren Pflanzen(teile) zerstoße du zusammen, in Wein rührst du es, auf nüchternen Magen trinkt er es und [illegible]

51–54 [illegible] andauernd packt), er seine Rede immer wieder vergißt, beim Ivrea [illegible] widerspricht, keinen Entschluß fassen kann, die Augen dieses [illegible] zu seiner Genesung: [illegible] (es folgen elf Pflanzen), (diese)

[illegible] Dies setzt voraus, daß die verwendeten Ingredienzen nicht herauszuschmecken waren. Da [illegible] nichem Wege herbeizuführen, würde eine solche Vorgehensweise, die dies sei betont, nach [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Z. [illegible] J. C. Fincke, *Augenleiden nach keilschriftlichen Quellen* (Würzburger [illegible]

> [illegible] Pflanzen [illegible] zerstoßt du zusammen in Öl und Bier, vor dem Gulatstern läßt du es über Nacht stehen, am Morgen, bevor die Sonne aufleuchtet, bevor [illegible] und ihn geküßt hat, trinkt er es und er wird gesunden.

Während [illegible] über die [illegible] einsetzenden „Kater", also die Folgen der [illegible] BM 59634 und [illegible] schnelle und direkte [illegible] Herbeiführung der [illegible] schmerzhafte Behandlungsmethoden wie z. B. bei Zahnschmerz oder Ha[illegible] wurden.

[illegible] tatsächlich [illegible] Beurteilung [illegible] bestimmte Wirkungsweisen nachgezeichnet werden. Das in BM 59634, Z. 4–8, ge[illegible] das Wasser den Patienten zur Ausnüchterung trinken zu lassen. Pistazien sind überaus [illegible] halligen Substanzen kann also tatsächlich dazu dienen, das Ansteigen der Alkohol[illegible]

[illegible] vgl. etwa [illegible] Natron [illegible] tanden; vgl. A.D. Krikorian, „Were the Opium Poppy and Opium Known [illegible] East?", Journal of the History of Biology 8 (1975), 95–114. Auch der [illegible] läßt sich im Alten Orient nicht sicher nachweisen; siehe W. Farber, „Drugs [illegible] Kamm[illegible]

28 Zur Frage, ob es chirurgische Eingriffe in Mesopotamien gegeben hat, siehe H. Freyhans, „Chirurgie im alten Mesopotamien?", Altorientalische Forschungen 18 (1972), 133–137, und R.D. Biggs, „Medicine, Surgery, and Public Health in Ancient Mesopotamia", in: J.M. Sasson et al. (Hrsg.), [illegible]

29 [illegible] das Fett ein Vomieren des Mageninhalts zur Folge haben kann.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Florilegium babyloniacum:

Neue Texte aus hellenistischer und spatachamenidischer Zeit

[illegible]

[illegible]

Nr. 1: BM 80711

[illegible]

1 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ^{d}umbisag^{meš} u ^{d}en-sig[illegible]

5 [illegible] sig il

[illegible] sag ki-kud-da

[illegible]

Rs. [^{m}]kiš[i]b — ^{m}[^{m}]kiš[i]b

(Siegel) — (Siegel)

[illegible] kiš[i]b — [illegible] gisa[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] kiš[i]b

[illegible]

[illegible]

Brief von [illegible] *Dumuzi* [illegible] und von Nanaya [illegible] der Verwaltung der Siegel [illegible] die Beamten [illegible] Sargon [illegible] *gabri* [illegible] die Öl zum [illegible] zusammen [illegible] asser.

Siegelbeschriften auf der Rückseite

Siegel von Nanaya-bul[illegible]

Diese [illegible] Brief der [illegible] Sargon [illegible] Kurzzeitlagen [illegible] Weg [illegible] *bit piriti* [illegible] Beamten [illegible] war auch [illegible] der Siegel [illegible] vorhergewesen [illegible] Verwaltungsgebäude [illegible] Öl [illegible] Nanaya [illegible] Beamten [illegible]

[illegible] Ausdruck [illegible] von [illegible] *parpar* [illegible]

2 Zum *bit piriti* vor allem im hellenistischen Uruk s. Doty *Fs. Hallo* 87ff. Das *bīt piriti* des [illegible] zählt zu der von Doty zitierten Nabonid-Stelle, die von seiner Ausschmückung [illegible] Cagirgan und Lambert JCS 43–45: 95: 50 und 100: 156 bezeugt [illegible]

[illegible] Rova und Frahm AfO 46/47: 165 und Iurra, *Bēl-remanni* 66.

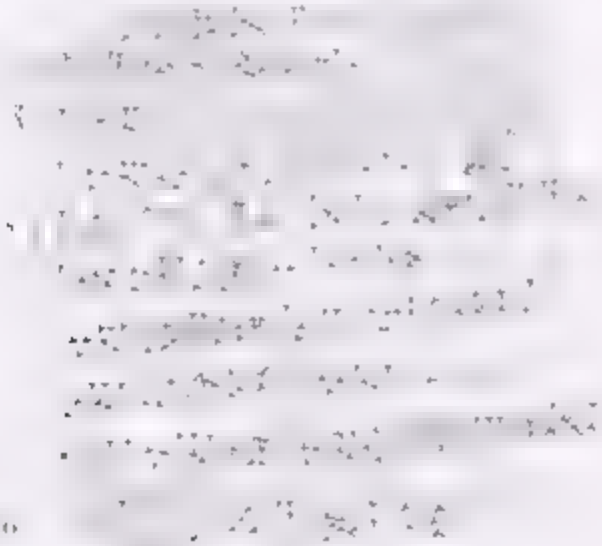
[illegible] Joannès, TLBR Nr. 120

[illegible] Name [illegible] wird [illegible] <é>.an.na (‚Haplographie'), in 20, 10 und 23 aber [illegible]en-sig [illegible] gewesen sein.

[illegible] sag ki kad [illegible] westsemitischer) Name läßt sich aus den Zeichen nicht gewinnen. Sollte es sich um eine Berufsbezeichnung im weitesten Sinn handeln, könnte man das Wort als [illegible] für [illegible] sag ki = [illegible] kiten und kad [illegible] = *p[illegible]* auffassen, aber der [illegible] Wortes [illegible] Ob [illegible] zu *p[illegible]*

B. Spätachämenidische Rationenlisten aus dem Esangila-Archiv

Nr. 2. BM 78999



1 [illegible] bar pad.ḫi.a (?) *ša* [illegible]u.ḫa[illegible] *ša* ut[u.gan mu.x.kan.
la-ri] *ša-a-mus* lugal *ina* šu[illegible]en-tin [illegible]

x gur 4 b ân [illegible]en
x gur] [illegible]en-tin-*su* 'dumu' [*ša*] [illegible]bad-kâd
5 x gur [illegible] dumu [illegible]
x gur (x bán) [illegible] mu-[illegible]en dumu *ša* [illegible]amar utu-mu 'uru
x gur (x bán)] [illegible]en-tin-*su* dumu *ša* 'šat-tan-*nu u* dumu-*ša*
x gur (x bán) [illegible] dumu [illegible] pad[illegible]
x gur (x bán) ti-n-*su*-[illegible]en dumu [illegible] 3 dumu [illegible]

0 [pab x gur (x (p[illegible] bán pad [illegible]

Rs. [illegible]kisib [illegible]'kisib <<x>

[illegible]

Nr. 3: BM 87251

1 [illegible]sík-hi-a *hu-hu-us-su ta* [illegible]u ha[illegible] *ta* mu-4 kam

[illegible]

[illegible] ma nla [illegible]en tin-*su* 'dumu' *ta* [illegible]bad-kad

[illegible] dumu [illegible]

[illegible] dumu [illegible]

[illegible] mla na [illegible]en-tin-*su* dumu *sa* [illegible] *u* dumu [illegible]

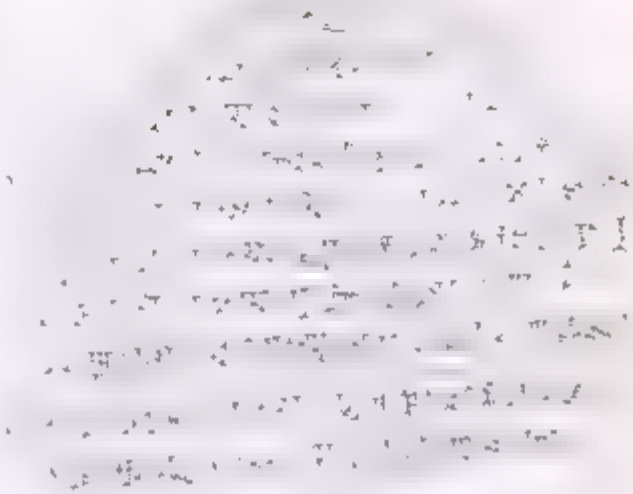
[illegible] ma na [illegible]en-nigin dumu *ta* [illegible]en pab

[illegible]8 ma na tin-*su*-[illegible]en dumu *ta* [illegible]en tin' *su u* 3 dumu [illegible]

[illegible] hag il

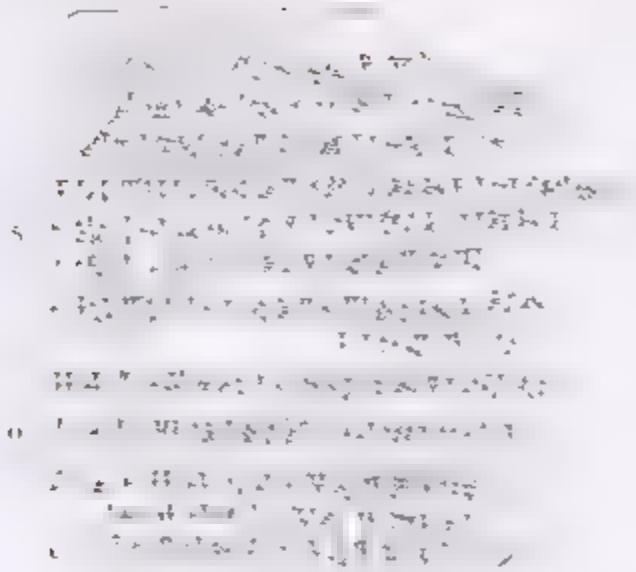
Rs. [illegible] [illegible]

Diese beiden Rationenlisten aus dem Esagila-Archiv betreffen [illegible] der an erster Stelle genannten Person dieselben Fischer.[5] Es sind die ersten Rationenlisten für diese Berufsgruppe aus diesem Archiv, die publiziert werden.[6] Die Datierung der achämenidenzeitlichen Texte aus diesem Archiv ist ein gewisses Problem. Die allerersten Tafeln datieren aus der Regierungszeit des Artaxerxes [illegible] drei in Frage kommender Könige dieses Namens? Auch bei Darius besteht die Wahl zwischen Darius II. und Darius III. Eine prosopographische Verbindung [illegible] aus der Regierungszeit eines Artaxerxes oder eines Darius und solchen aus der makedonischen Periode herzustellen ist u.W. bisher nicht gelungen, allerdings müsste die zahlreichen unpublizierten Tafeln aufgearbeitet werden, bevor derartige prosopographische Untersuchungen unternommen werden. Das Format der achämenidischen Tafeln unterscheidet sich jedenfalls nicht von jenem der späteren Texte; wir werden daher davon ausgehen [illegible] in der Regel Artaxerxes III. bzw. Darius III. gemeint sind, sofern keine gewichtigen Gründe dagegen sprechen.



5 [illegible]

Nr 4: BM 78997



1 [3]e 'bar' (*ša*) [d]hal^mes^ *šá* itu [šu]
itu šu itu ne mu [1'5'] kam *de-tak-sar-su*
[illegible]

5 (pi) 4 bán 3 *qa* [d]en-tin-*su u* šeš-*šu* dumu^mes^ *šá* [d]amar.utu-mu-mu
5 1 (gur) 5 bán [d]bad-mu dumu *šá* [d]en uru-*šu u* 2 dumu [illegible] *u*
[illegible] pi) 4 bán mu-'uru' dumu *šá* tin-*su*-[d]en
1 (gur) 2 pi 3 *qa* [d]en-tin-*su u* 3 šeš^mes^-*šu* dumu [illegible]

1 (pi) 1 bán [d]ag-nunun-gi3 *u* šes-*šu* dumu^mes^ *šá* [d]en-kam
0 1 (pi) 4 bán [d]en ad-ùru dumu *šá* [d]amar.utu-mu-gis

pab 4 (gur) 4 (pi) 1 ban še bar pad ḫi a itu šu,
+ gur) 4 (pi) 1 bán še.bar pad ḫi a itu šu
+ gur) '4 (pi)' 1 ban še.bar pad ḫi a itu ne

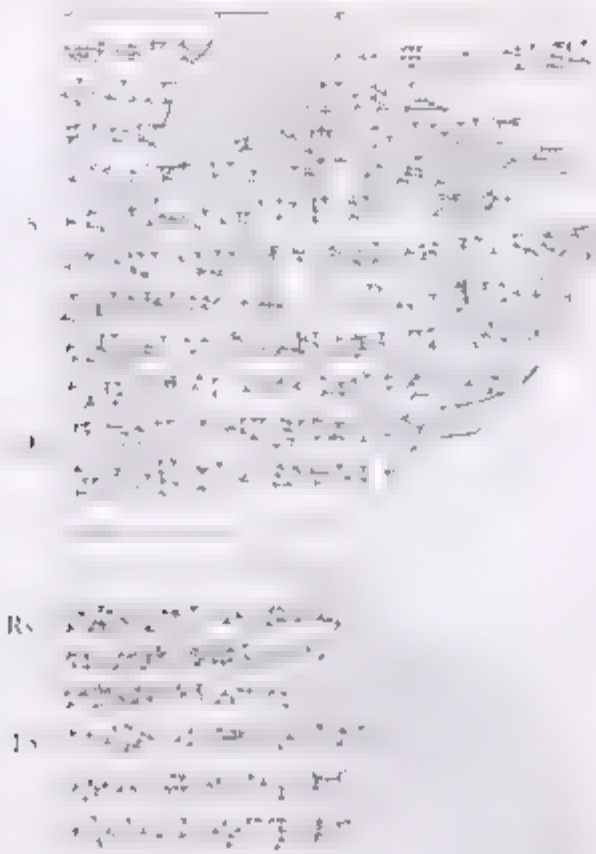
[illegible] Rand [illegible] ungesiegel

1 [illegible]
[illegible]

Dieser [illegible] aus dem Isang la Archiv

C. Eine Inspektion der Opfer [illegible]

Nr. 5: BM 79028



1 [illegible]
[illegible] an-t[i-uk-ku-s]u lugal
[illegible] *ša* ram é.sag.gil
[illegible]
5 *ma* kà^meš *ša* é.sag.gil [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] šim li *at-ri* [illegible]
[illegible]
10 [illegible]
é.sag.gil [illegible]

Rs. [illegible]
[illegible] ban 3im.li *i-ši-ru-šu ina* ud.x kan
3im.li *a'* 2 ban *'a' ala* e sag.gil
15 *i-nam-du* in apin ud.[illegible].kam
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] Zeit vgl. die prosopographischen Listen bei van der Spek, AOAT 252, 438f.
[illegible]
[illegible] Monatsnamen des Bäckers zweimal angegeben worden [illegible]

Am x. Arahsamnu des 27. Jahres, als Seleukos und Antiochos Könige (waren), als [illegible] der Verwalter [illegible] und das Kollegium des Esangila die *mudabu* [illegible] des Esangila überprüften, da hat der Bäcker Bel-tarannu-usur, der [illegible] Opfern, die er vorgenommen hat, über das [illegible] Maß hinaus mehr Rostmehl als Wacholder verwendet. Deswegen haben Bel-[illegible], [der Verwalter] des Esangila, und das Kollegium des [Esangila] den besagten [illegible] zugefordert]. Die besagten zwei *sutu* Wacholder wird er dem [Esangila] [im x. Tag] geben.

x. Arahsamnu, 27. Jahr, als Seleukos und Antiochos Könige (waren).

[illegible] *nasi puluda*. Der [illegible] der [illegible] Wacholder [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Q[illegible] *[illegible]* präsentiert wurde, auf dem man nicht rauchert[12] (dafür dienen Räucherständer [illegible]

[illegible] *[illegible]* des Esangila die Rede ist. Man vergleiche z. B. stellvertretend für [illegible] gende Stelle:

ud 18 kam [illegible]ukkin *ki é.sag.gil* [illegible] *é.sag.gil* [illegible] *u ana bul-tu ša* lugal lugal[meš] [illegible]

Am 18. (Addaru) stellten der Verwalter des Esangila und die Babylonier das [illegible] des Esangila (ihm (einem auswärtigen Funktionär) der in Babylon zu Gast war [illegible] Königs der Könige, und warf sich (vor den Göttern) nieder." (Sachs und Hunger, *Diaries* 1, p. 370; 108 v. Chr.)

Kurios ist der folgende Bericht aus dem Jahr 306 v. Chr.:

[illegible] ud 12 kam [illegible] *bar-sip*[ki] [illegible] *a-na* [illegible]

9. Vgl. Lambert, OLA 55, 19[illegible]
10. MSL 14, 495, 14 zitiert [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible] Opferarrangements mit Tragaltären und [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]

Am 1[illegible] desselben Mona[illegible] [illegible] Bar-pouscher Schlachter zu einem [illegible] und trenn[illegible] [illegible] den Worten: Niemand darf mi[illegible] uns ein *nindabu*-Opfer auf demselben Kohlebecken vornehmen! [illegible]sachs und Hunger, *Di[illegible]ies* 3, p. 380 (105 B 14 f.)

Die genaue Bedeutung [illegible] *paräsu* an dieser Stelle ist unklar. Eine ausführlichere Schilderung dieses Ereignisses im Text 105 A 15 f. ist leider sehr schlecht erhalten; der Vorfall scheint dasselbe im Distrikt Madanus stattgefunden zu haben, die andere Partei waren Schlachter des Esangila, die in eine Schlägerei (*[illegible]*) mit ihrem Kollegen aus dem [illegible] verwickelt waren.

Abschließend noch ein weiterer [illegible] für die Verwendung von Wacholder für das *nindabu*-Opfer.

Nr. 6: BM 82588

1 [illegible] p[illegible]
[illegible] pa se[illegible]
[illegible]
5 [illegible]
Rs. [illegible] 21(+)[illegible] ekam
[illegible] ekam
[illegible] lugal kur kur
5 [illegible]
[illegible]

Zum [illegible] Wacholderholz wurden für das *nindabu*-Opfer durch Nihistu nach [illegible] geschickt. [illegible] Artaxerxes, König aller Länder.

[illegible]

Nr. 7: BM 79034

1 [illegible] ma-na 7½ gin kù babbar *ši-mi* xl 'udu' [illegible]
[illegible] gasan [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]en-uru-*ka* [illegible]en-eduru-mu
5 [illegible] bad [illegible] ma na [illegible] gin

[illegible]

ku babbar [illegible]

Kest der Vorderseite [illegible]

Ks 1 [illegible] n 'ku babbar [illegible] und [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] bad [illegible] sa mu ura [illegible] ka

und [illegible] ka babbar [illegible] ga

[illegible] é sa bad [illegible] ki [illegible] sag [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

10 [illegible]
ṣig. k[illegible]-šu-nu ul ⌈qāt⌉-ta-a' 10. x
ud 8 kam mu 31 kam ⌈ši-lu k u
[illegible]

l. Rd. [illegible]

Rs. 4 [illegible] über [illegible]
[illegible]

Eine halbe Mine, siebenundfünfzig Schekel Silber, Gegenwert x] gemäss eier, fetter Hamme[l bester Qualität [illegible] Vorderseite [illegible]

[illegible] Schekel Silber, Gegenwert zehn [gemästeter], fetter [Hamme] bester Qualität [illegible]

[illegible] Abrechnung] für die besagten Hammel «<...>» im Gegenwert von 14 Schekel [illegible] Hammelbeisches [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] der Ankauf von Opferschafen mit [illegible] Kauf von Hammeln für Bēl und Bēltia [illegible] Tempel in Babylon vom Esangila aus administriert wurden.[18]

[illegible]

18 So können der *ittimmu* und das Kollegium von Esangila z.B. über die Einkünfte des e ud 1 kam verfügen (CT 49 160; van der Spek, *Ritumesu*, 235ff.). Übrigens scheint uns die [illegible] die zuletzt van der Spek, *Ritumesu* 225 auf der Basis einer Stelle in einem astronomischen Tagebuch (Sachs und Hunger, *Diaries* 2, p. 202–204 C, Rs. 14–18) vorgenommen hat, noch [illegible] ngend bewiesen zu sein. Einerseits ist der Prozessionsverlauf des achten Tag[illegible] [illegible] aber in der Diskussion übersehen worden, daß George, Sumer 44, 22 Anm. 38 schon vor [illegible] nem Text erscheint, der auch vom *bit akīti* spricht: e ud 1 kam in 5 R 65, 1–31; Langdon VAB 4, 254–311; *é a ki-ti ibid.* II 50 (VAB 4, 260–50). Die von Pinches gegebene Lesung ir [illegible] kam [illegible]

Bēlet-balāṭi, die „Herrin des Lebens", ist aus dem seleukidenzeitlichen Vertrag BRM 2, 36 als eine im Egamaḫ, einem Tempel der Gula in Uruk, verehrte Gottheit [illegible] von A. George für das Tempelritual BM 78076 vermutet.[24] In diesem Fall ist allerdings [illegible] Bēlet-balāṭi [illegible] erscheint also in einer Funktion, die sonst Lamassu oder Nanaja ausfüllen. Damit lässt [illegible] BM 38630 assoziiert sie zugleich (in nicht zu präzisierender Weise) mit Nabû und Šamaš.

[illegible] bekannt. Am ehesten ist HSM 8406 aus dem 19. Jahr eines Artaxerxes vergleichbar.[26] Vier Männer haben zu ungleichen Teilen Silber im Haus eines Erbaja deponiert, das für den Kauf von Hammeln für das *ginû*-Opfer von Bēl und Bēltia bestimmt ist.[27] Die [illegible] gemeinsam abgehoben werden soll, widrigenfalls einer von ihnen den Anteil d[illegible] Bēltia [illegible] Herden stellen konnten, sondern [illegible]

1 [illegible] Lebens" vgl. [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible]

4 [illegible]

24 Stolper, AfO N *Suppl.* 27, No. A1–E (490–498 [illegible]

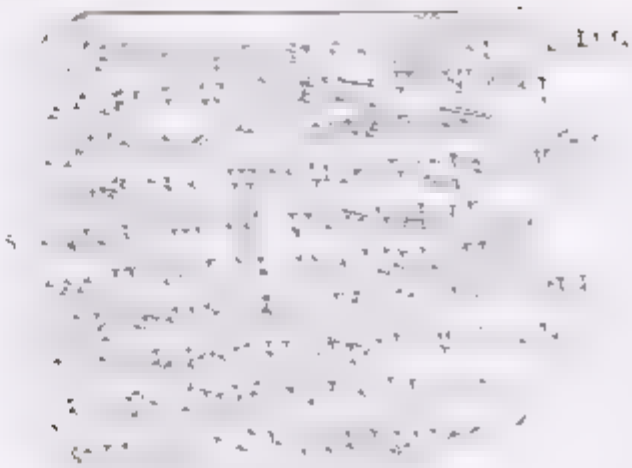
25 Der Wortlaut lässt strenggenommen keine Entscheidung darüber zu, ob das Silber vom Verkäufer [illegible]

26 [illegible] mu 20 kam 'ka.babbar mu [illegible] *[ina ṣ-ru-um-ma e-du ina ṭib b[illegible] ina šu-ul-u-ti]* D[illegible] Lesung des Endes der Z. 9 ist natürlich eine Konjektur, ergibt aber einen guten Sinn. [illegible] ist das Verb sicherlich, wie von Stolper im Kommentar erwogen, aber dann verworfen, [illegible] graphisch besser '*in-te-ṣi-ru-um-ma*' zu lesen. Die Zeilen 7–11 lauten also in U[illegible] zum Ende des Lāšrītu des 20. [illegible]

27 Z. B. aus dem Ebabbar-Archiv BM 63803, Nbk 388, 396, CT 56 348, CT 55 673 u.v.a.m. Aus dem Rahīm-Ešu-Archiv s. z. B. BRM 1 99, 341 und [illegible]

[illegible]

Nr. 8: BM 87261



[illegible] na ku babbar ki la 10 [illegible]
[illegible] ki gal
[illegible] *ki* its ab mlul 2 kam
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] mehr der Ort der Bauarbeiten, ist also hier wie in noch [illegible] die babylonische Entsprechung des Verb[illegible]

[illegible] Der [illegible] des Silber-Gewichts [illegible] Mu[illegible] des [illegible] den [illegible] Bel [illegible] verzeichnet [illegible] Schatzes zwei Jahres von Philippos von der Tempelkasse von Bel erhalten.

Zweiter Tebeth, zweites Jahr [illegible] Philippos

[illegible] Mann [illegible] Monat [illegible] Schekel pro Monat [illegible] den entsprechenden Angaben des jüngeren Rahim-Esu-Archivs (van der Spek, *Ra*[illegible] 2[illegible]

[illegible] Angabe der Anzahl von Saterg[illegible] Tesra[illegible] Saterg[illegible] Schekel [illegible] Schekel. Das ist dieselbe Verhältnis, das sich [illegible]

[illegible]

F. Zwei neue Depositumverträge

[illegible]

Vertrag dieser Art aus Kiš/Hursangkaama

[illegible]

38 [illegible]

39 [illegible]

40 [illegible]

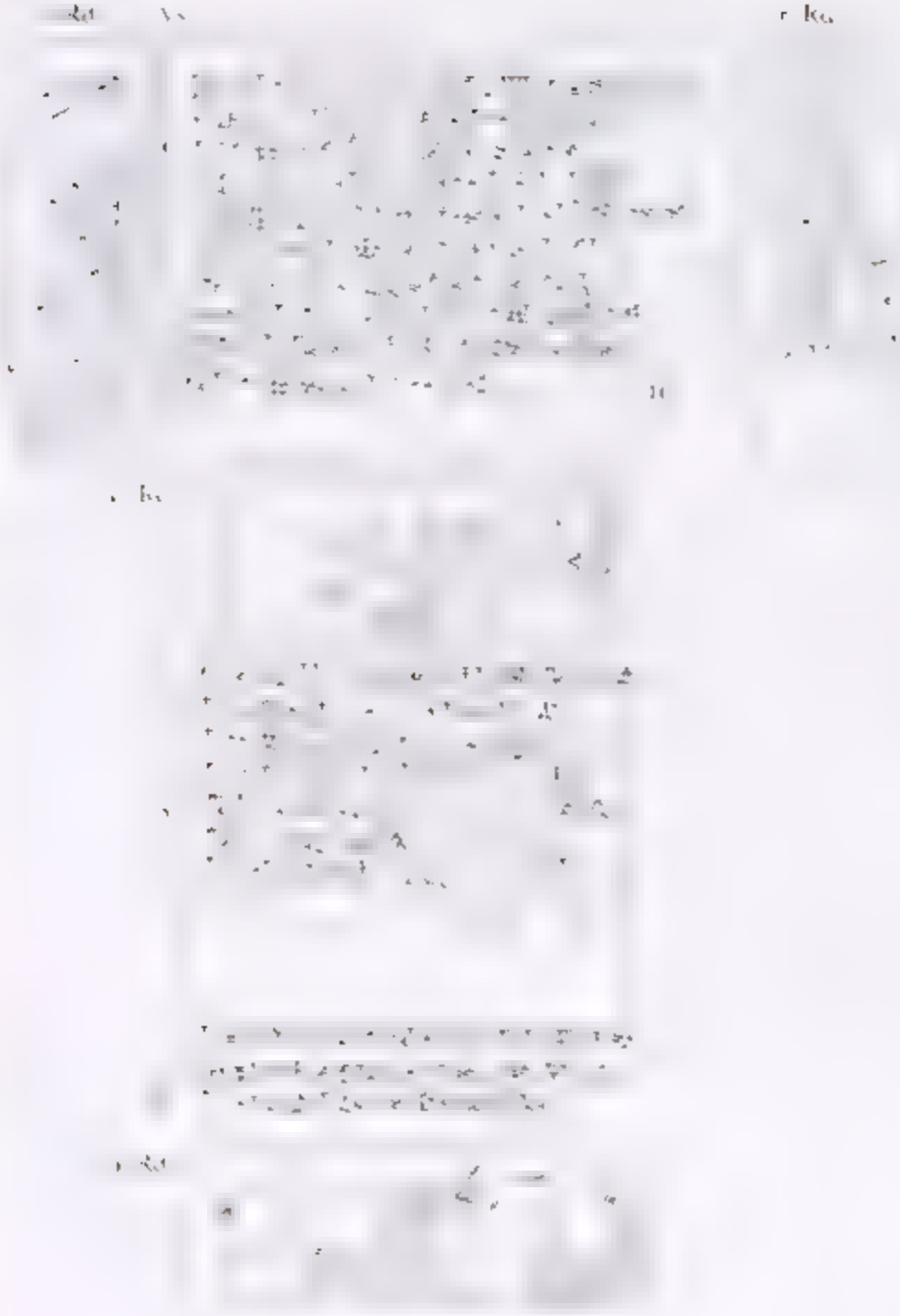
41 [illegible] Literatur

42 [illegible] Statere aus Seleukia am Tigris 16,7 g, Löwenstatere aus Susa 16,5 g, Löwenstatere aus Babylon [illegible]

43 In CT 49,105 und 106 Stouper AfON *suppl.* 77 Nr. 6 und Nr. 12 wird [illegible] Seleukos mit einem Gewicht von 2 Minen, 38,5 Schekel nach dem [illegible] Babylon" gesprochen. Unter den M[illegible] Schekel, oder vielleicht zerschnittene Statere gewesen sein. In allen anderen [illegible] Belegen für nach dem „U'm[illegible] Anzahl der Schekel, soweit angegeben, durch 2 teilbar. Vgl. zum Problem au[illegible] I 252, 5, 64

44 Wir werden an anderer [illegible]

Nr. 9: BM 114713



1 [illegible]

5 [illegible]

10 [illegible]

15 [illegible]

20 [illegible] *ina-ru-gu-nu* [illegible]gal-éren

[illegible]

[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]den-kla[illegible]
[illegible]	(späterer Rand)	[illegible]kisib	[illegible]kisib
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]kisib	
[illegible]		[illegible]	
[illegible]		[illegible]	

[illegible] des Nabû-balassu-iqbi anvertraut.

Wann immer Marduk-šumu-iddin es wünscht, wird Nūrānu, Sohn d[illegible] iqbi das besagte Depot (im. also 9 Minen [illegible] Siegelung (intakt), Marduk-šumu-iddin, dem Sohn des N[illegible] Zeugen: Iddin-Bēl, Sohn des Bēl-rēmanni; Bēl-abu-uṣur, Sohn des Bēl-ibni; [illegible] iqbi, Sohn des [ ]; Bēl-kaṣir, Sohn des Itti-[GN]-balāṭu; [illegible] iqbi; Itti-M[a]rduk-balāṭu, Sohn des Bēl-abu-uṣur; Bēl-šumu-lišir, Sohn [illegible] Tan-ittu-Bēl, der Schreiber, Sohn des B[illegible]

Babylon, 24. Nisānu, viertes Jahr des [illegible]

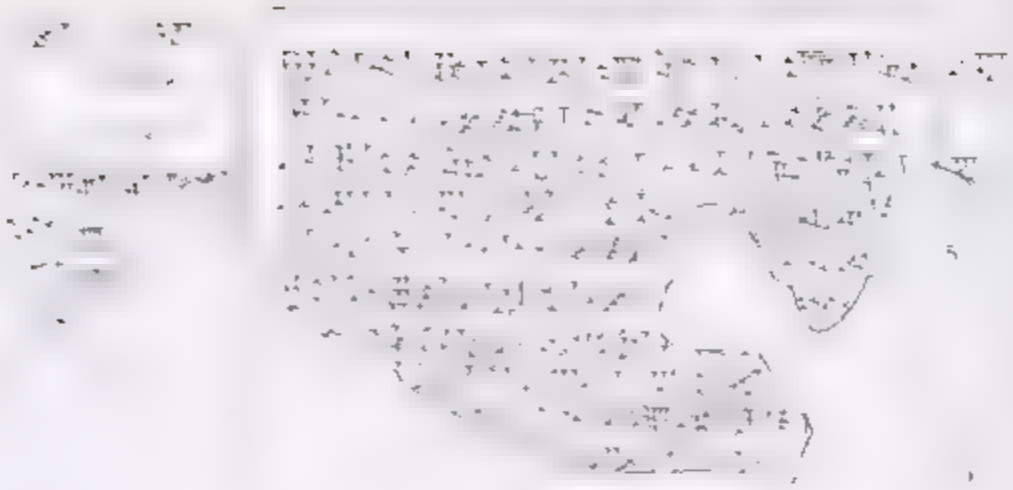
„Siegelbeschriften"

(linker Rand:) Siegel des [...]; Siegel des B[illegible]

(rechter Rand:) Siegel des N[illegible]

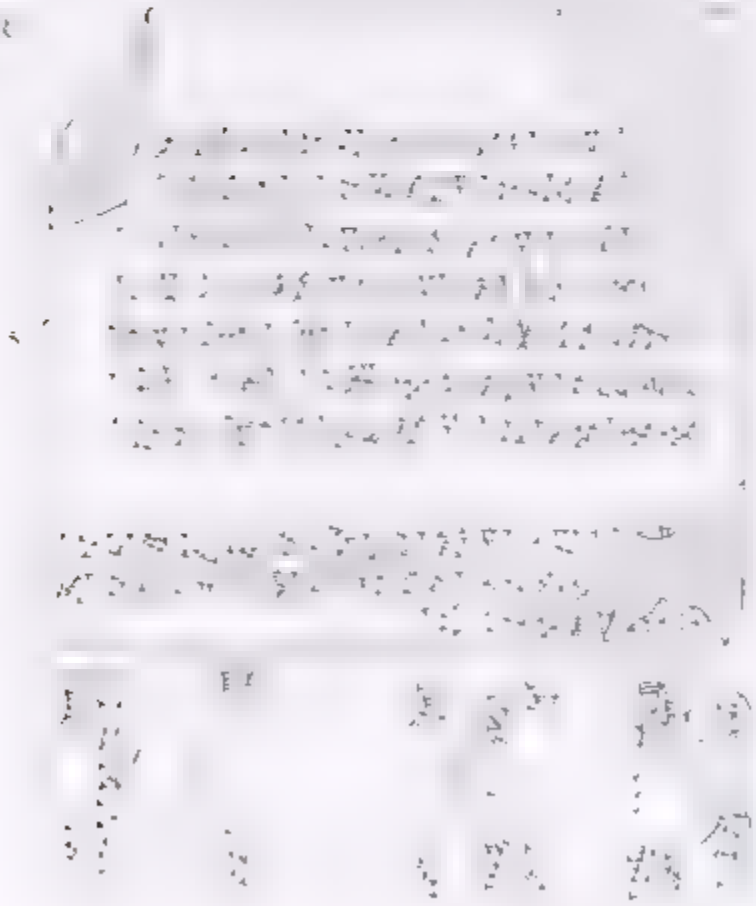
(unterer Rand:) Siegel des Iddin-Bēl, [illegible]

(oberer Rand:) Siegel des Bēl-uṣur, Sohn des B[illegible]



Nr. 10:

BM 114709



8 ma na ku.babbar *qa-lu-u uš-ru-u* níg.ga ^{d}en
[illegible] bad-mu dumu *šá* ^{lú}en-šeš^{meš}-iru *nak-su*
[illegible]
[illegible] ^{lú}en-tin^{ir} dumu^{meš} *šá* ^{lú}dumu.é$^{?}$-šeš-mu
5 [illegible] bad [illegible] dumu [illegible]
ku.babbar *u'* 8 ma.na *puq-du* mu[^{x} *šá* ^{id}bad] mu *ina* [illegible]
u] *kin-gi-šá ina* ^{na4}kišib *šá* ^{id}ba[d-mu [illegible]
[illegible]
dumu] 'é-šeš-mu' *u-ta-ru-ma* [*a-na* ^{id}bad mu dumu [illegible]
10 [illegible]
Rest der Vorderseite verloren
Rs [illegible]
ta-nit-tu$^{?}$en dumu *šá* ^{lú}en [illegible]
[illegible]
en-*šu-nu* dumu *šá* ^{lú}en-ad-iru [mu [illegible]
5' dumu *šá* [*ta-nit-tu*$_4$ ^{lú}en-*ku-sur-šu* dumu [illegible]
[illegible]*el-šu* ^{lú}ag-mu^{nu} dumu *ša* [*sur-tan-nu*
[illegible]
[illegible] Zeile [illegible]
[illegible]en šeš^{meš}-mu ^{lú}dub sar dumu *šá* ^{lú}en [illegible]
[illegible]*sur-sag kalam-ma*^{ki} iti sig$_4$ ud 10 kam mu 1x kam
[illegible]*k-sat su* [lugal kur kur [illegible]
Siegelbeschriften
(anker Rand) ^{na4}kišib (oberer Rand) [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]kišib [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]kišib
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]kišib [illegible]
[PN] (Siegel
[illegible]
[illegible]kišib
[illegible]
[illegible]kišib
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] Minen silberenen Siebers. Zum [illegible] von Be[illegible] des Be[illegible] und [illegible] des Depositum [illegible] Bel[illegible] den Söhnen des Mär bit-aha[illegible]

Wa[illegible] Bel-aha-iti, die Söhne des M[illegible] das [illegible] Depositum [des Ea]-iddin [illegible] Siegel des Ea-[iddin (mrake) [illegible] [Ea-iddin [illegible] des Bel[illegible] zurückgeben
(Rest der Vorderseite verloren

Z[illegible] Be[illegible] des Bel[illegible] Tanittu-Bēl, Sohn des Bēl-balassu-,iqbi
Zababa-[illegible] Sohn des Bel-abu-uṣur, Šumu-[illegible], Sohn
des [illegible] Bēl-kuṣursu [illegible] Nabu-uttannu, Sohn des Tattannu, Tanittu-Be
[illegible] der Schreiber, Sohn des Bel
[illegible] von Artaxerxes, König aller Länder
[illegible]
[illegible] Siegel von Tanittu, Siegel [von PN
[illegible] Bel-uballit
[illegible]

[illegible]

Ea-taḫram-bullit Nr. 7 (31 SA): Rs. 11
[illegible]
Bel[illegible]
Bel-[illegible] Rs.
Be[illegible] Nr. 4 (15 Art <III
[illegible] Rs. 8
[illegible]
[illegible]
Bel-[illegible] šumu-iddin: Nr. 7 (31 SA): Rs. 1
Be[illegible]
Be[illegible] Dar <III >): 2, 12; Nr. 3 (4 Dar <III >): 12 [illegible]
Bel-bullissu/Bel-aplu-uṣur, *bārū*: Nr. 4 (15 Art <III
Bel-bullissu/Belšumu: Nr. 4 (15 Art <III
Bēl-bullissu/Ea-kāṣir, *bā'iru*: Nr. 2 (x) Dar <III >), 4; Nr. 3 (4 Dar <III.>): 4
Bēl-bullissu/Marduk-šumu-iddin, *bāriū*: Nr. 4 (15 Art <III
Be[illegible]
Be[illegible] Ea-bullissu-iqbi: Nr. 9 (4 [illegible]
Be[illegible] kāṣir/Itti-[GN]-balatu: Nr. 9 (4 Artag): 1 [illegible]
Bēl-kuṣuršu, *šatammu* des Esangila: Nr. 5 (27 SA): 3, 10
Bēl-kuṣursu/Etelha: Nr. 10 (x Art <?>): Rs. 5
Bel-šumu-uṣur/Bel-i[illegible]: Nr. 9 (4 A[illegible]
Bel[illegible]
Bēl-tattannu-uṣur/Bēl-balassu-[iqbi (?)], *nuhatimmu*: Nr. 5 (27 SA): 6
Bēl-uballit/Bēl-uṣursu: Nr. 7 (31 SA)
[illegible]
Be[illegible] Dar <III>
Be[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Iddin-Bēl: Nr. 2 ([x] Dar <III >): 12; Nr. 3 (4 Dar <III >): [illegible]
Iddin-Bēl Be[illegible]-remanni: Nr. 9 (4 Antig): 11; u. Rd.
Iddin-Bēl Marduk-šum[illegible]: Nr. [illegible] Dar <III >): [illegible]; Nr. [illegible] (4 Dar [illegible]): [illegible]
Ittannas Bēl/Bēl-G[illegible]/B-Gt R. *Iprku*: [illegible]: Nr. [illegible]
Itti-Marduk-balāṭu/Bēl-abu-usur: Nr. 9 (4 Antig): 15f.

Libluṭ/Bēl-apla-iddin: *bā'iru*: Nr. 2 ([x] Dar <III >): 5; Nr. 3 (4 Dar <III >): [illegible]

Mar[illegible]: Nr. [illegible] Rs. [illegible]
Marduk-šumu-iddin/Nabū-zeru-iṣur: Nr. 9 (4 Antig): 21; [illegible]
Marduk-šumu-uṣur: Nr. [illegible] Rs. [illegible]
Marduk-uṣur[illegible]: Nr. [illegible] Dar [illegible]: [illegible]

Nabū-ittanna/Ittannu: Nr. [illegible] Rs. [illegible]
Nabū-šumu-uṣur/Marduk-bēl-šumu: Nr. 7 (31 SA): 5
Nabū-zēru-[illegible]ṣir/Bēl-ēreš, *bārû*: Nr. 4 (15 Art <III >): 9
Nanāja-bullṭiš, *rab-[illegible]*: Nr. [illegible] Rs. [illegible]
Nihisru: Nr. 6 (28 Art [illegible]): [illegible]
Nuranu(?)/Izalag-*an-nati*/Nabū-balassu-iqbi: Nr. 9 (4 Antig): [illegible] Rd.

Šumu-[illegible]/Tanittu: Nr. 10 ([x] Art <?>): Rs. 4f.
Šumu-uṣur/Ubal-ssu-Be[illegible], *bārû*: Nr. 4 (15 Art <III >): 6

Tanittu-Bēl/Bēl-apla-uṣur, Schreiber: Nr. 9 (4 Antig): 18
Tanittu-Bēl/Bēl-balassu-iqbi: Nr. 10 ([x] Art <?>): Rs. 2
Tanittu-Bēl/Mar-bīti-abu-iddin: Nr. 10 ([x] Art [illegible]): [illegible]
Tanittu-Bēl/Marduk-šumu-iddin: Nr. 10 ([x] Art <?>): Rs. [illegible]

Ubal-ssu-Be[illegible]/Bēl-bullissu, *bā'iru*: Nr. 2 ([x] Dar <III [illegible]): Nr. [illegible] (4 Dar [illegible]): [illegible]

Zababa-napišti-uṣur/Balāssu: Nr. 10 ([x] Art <?>): Rs. 3

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Old Babylonian Extispicy Reports

Ulla Koch-Westenholz, Copenhagen

During my work at the British Museum [illegible] on extispicy texts, I have received [illegible] Christopher Walker's diligence, kindness [illegible] knowledge. Recently, when he was [illegible] concerning my work [illegible] published Old Babylonian extispicy reports. I [illegible] and [illegible] texts [illegible] and purposes of this ancient fact-finding [illegible].

Since A. Goetze in 1957 surveyed the [illegible] known Old Babylonian and Kassite extispicy reports [illegible] Nougayrol, R. Kraus and Sarah [illegible] Old Babylonian letter texts are [illegible] texts and reports from [illegible] published and edited by Jean-Marie Durand in 1988 in [illegible] 26, *Archives Épistolaires de Mari* I/1. But many of these texts are not directly concerned with extispicy at all. Of those which are [illegible] 88, 94, 95, 96 (= JCS 21, 228), 98, 100 bis (= JCS 21, 230), 109, 113 (= JCS 21, 226), 116, 117, [illegible], 155, 161, 164, 167, 185. Still, the corpus cannot be said to have swelled to [illegible] proportions. Apart from the Mari material, only 37 Old Babylonian texts have been published, including [illegible] texts. To this should perhaps be added the reports preserved as livers [illegible] purposes

1 [illegible]

2 "Rapports paléo-babyloniens d'haruspices," JCS 21 (1967), 219–235, offered as a supplement to Goetze's article in JCS [illegible]

3 "Mute babylonische Opferschauprotokolle," [illegible]

4 "Extispicy Reports from the Old Babylonian and Sargonid Periods," in M. de J. Ellis (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, 1977, 201–208.

5 In ARM 26/53 there is a list of these texts. I have added some texts that I find relevant to the [illegible] and included the texts published by Nougayrol in JCS 21.

6 [illegible] Nesik rehen-Vluyn 1987. Two more models were published by F. N. H. Al-Rawi, "Texts from Tell Haddad and Elsewhere," Iraq 56 (1994), 35–43, one of which (text no. 5) cites an ext[illegible] Old [illegible] Nougayrol [illegible]

I will leave those clay models asid[illegible] relevan[illegible] are the three possible [illegible] the compendium YOS 10 11, as suggest[illegible] recently by Thomas Richter.

For the convenience of the reader [illegible] a comprehensive [illegible] of the texts mentioned by Goetze and Nougayrol with the [illegible] of the [illegible] published reports. Nos. 1–15 below are quoted straight from Goetze's [illegible] in JCS 11, no. 16 appears as no. 23 on his list and was originally classified as Kassite. [illegible] 17–27 correspond to Nougayrol's texts A–K.

1	Text from Prof. B[illegible]	Unpub. *Babylonica* 2, pl. 6 and p. 257–74 [illegible]
2	MLC 294	un[illegible] Goetze in JCS 11 (1957), 89. Ammi-[illegible]
3	CBS 1462b	Goetze, JCS [illegible] 61. From Sippar. Ammi-saduqa 1.
4	CBS 1734	Goetze, JCS [illegible]
5	VAT 6678	Ungnad, *B*[illegible], and p. 141–144. Ammi-ṣaduqa 15
6	CBS 1462a	Goetze, JCS [illegible] and 98. From Sippar. Ammi-ṣaduqa 1 [illegible]
	MLC 291	Goetze, JCS [illegible] Ammi-ṣaduqa
8	YBC 11256	Goetze, JCS [illegible] From Babylon. Samsu-diana.[illegible]
	MLC 2255	[illegible]
	Istanbul Te lo 1486	[illegible]
	MLC 86	[illegible]
12	YBC 5018	[illegible]
13	[illegible]	[illegible] 128) pl. IV no. 5 and p. 1[illegible] [illegible]
14	NBC 7842	YOS 10 10 [illegible]
15	BM 78080	CT 4 34b [illegible]
16	CUA 101	Goetze, JCS [illegible]
17	YBC 5105	YOS 10 [illegible] JCS 21 (196[illegible]
18	LMM G 15	Sele[illegible] *Sumérienne* (Paris 1963), pl. 24 and p. 157. Ammi-[illegible]
19	[illegible]	[illegible] 67. Ar[illegible]
20	[illegible]	Nougayrol [illegible] Ammi-saduqa
21	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
23	[illegible]	[illegible]
24	[illegible]	[illegible]
25	[illegible]	[illegible] ammi-ṣaduqa 10
26	[illegible]	[illegible]
	MA[illegible]	[illegible]
28	[illegible]	[illegible] 33 and 207. Ammi-ṣaduqa 16

[illegible] babylonischer Zeit" in B[illegible] (OAA 1 267). Ma[illegible]

8 Identified as Old Babylonian ta[illegible] Kraus, JCS 37 (1985), 128 and 155. The text is unusual in some respects [illegible] read *me-ḫi-ṭi pa-an* lú.kúr (Defeat of the Enemy) — a nat[illegible] the Gall Bladder that is otherwise only known from Mari texts [illegible] ps up again in the SB compendia [illegible] by mere [illegible] Wo[illegible] ZA [illegible]

[illegible]

29.	[illegible]	[illegible]
30.	VAT 13158	Klengel, AoF 11 (1985) [illegible]
31.	VAT 17542	van Dijk, VS 24 (1987) no. 146, edited by W. [illegible]
32.	BM 85217	published below [illegible]
33.	BM 85214	[illegible]
34.	BM 97919	S. Richardson, "Ewe should Be So Lucky," text 1 below p. 236. Ammi [illegible]
35.	BM 97433	S. Richardson, *ibid.*, p. 237, text 2, from Babylon. Ammi-saduqa 1 [illegible]
[illegible]	BM [illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

1. Ungnad, *Babylonaca* 2, pl. 6, and 257–74.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]
	it.šè kin kud	in A[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	šu.si mur murub$_4$-*tum* zag *a-na* 2 du$_8$-*at*	is split. the Middle Finger of [illegible] splits on the [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10	14 *ti-ni-nu zi-aq-ru*	there are 14 Coils of the Colon, they are protuberant.
11	1 udu *ki-pi-ri qá-ti a-na* alan [illegible]	A Sheep for the performance of [illegible]
12	*ta- m i-tum* [x x x]	Th[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

14	*i-na* zag ki.gub 2 *ší-ʾlu-u*[12]	on the right side of the Presence there are two
15	[illegible] gub gír du$_8$	it has a Path, the left [illegible]
16	[illegible] gub gír gar [illegible]	[illegible] The Strength is
17	*i-na* šà ka é gal *zi-ḫu na-ʾdi-ma nu-*	in the [illegible]
18	silim *i-šu i-na* tu n ʾxʾ zu giš.tukul	It has a W[illegible]
19	*re-eš* zé *i-tul* zé gub ki ta ʾ*da*ʾ *ak-ʾla-*	[illegible] side of the Gall Bladder [illegible]
20	*i-na* gub ze gàr *i-na* šà gír gub zé *a-*	On the rig[illegible]
	[illegible] gub su [illegible]	On [illegible] the Finger a Weapon [illegible]
22	*i-na te-er* šu si murub, giš.tukul	There is a Weapon [illegible] Middle Finger
	gar-*ma* ki.ta *i-tul*	[illegible]
23	*ku bu-ul* mur du, mur [illegible]	[illegible]
		Lung is stretche[illegible]
24	*re-el* mur gub du, *tal* šà *re-za i-ḫu*	the top of the rel[illegible]
25	[illegible]	[illegible]
26	*a-na ta-ni-it eb-ḫa ta-az bi il tam*	Concerning the [illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
27	itu še kin kud ud 21 kam	Month 12, Da[illegible]
28	mu *am mi-ši-du-qi* lugal.e	Year of king Amm[illegible]
29	sipa zi še ga ᵗutu	herd, atten[illegible] and Marduk [illegible]
	ʿmar utu bi da-keʾ	released his coun[illegible]

5. VAT 6678 (Ungnad, *Babyloniaca* 3, pl. 9, 141–144)

Collated: the admittedly vague ruled lines were left out. [illegible]

1	1 udu *li-pi-it qa-ti*	One sheep [illegible]
2	*a-na* silim ʾ*be-el-ta-ni*	exup[illegible] being of Be[illegible]
3	*a-na i-ti a bi-sa*	for her [illegible] go[illegible]
4	[illegible] gub [illegible]	[illegible]
5	gír tuk *šu-bar* gub gír gar	[illegible]

[illegible]

6	kal ruk silim ra-*a*	it has a Strength, the Well-being is destroyed
	[illegible] gir g s [illegible] il	[illegible]
	[illegible]	poor
8	[illegible]	[illegible]
9	*i-na* gub zé gìr zag šu si du$_8$	in the left side of the Gall Bladder there is a
	[illegible]	[illegible]
0	gub šu si *ša ti-iq*	the left side of the [illegible]
	[illegible] zag [illegible] mur zag k[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
12	*i-na* zag mur *u* gub mur gìr	there is a Foot on the right and left Lung
13	'šu' si mur murub gub du$_8$	the Middle Finger of the Lung is split on the right
14	12 *ti-ra-nu*	12 are the Coils of the Colon
15	[illegible]	[illegible]
16	[illegible]	[illegible]
17	[itu x x xl ud.19 kam	The [illegible]
18	[illegible]	[illegible]
19	aram a.an ni šu.silim.ma a	Emetehursag for Zababa and Inanna [illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]

15. CT 4 34b (BM 78680 = Bu 88-5-12, 591)

	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	ki é gal *ta ḫm*	the Palace [illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	[illegible]	
6	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	[illegible]	[illegible]
rev 1	12 *ti-ra-nu*	there are 12 Coils of [illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	[illegible]	[illegible]

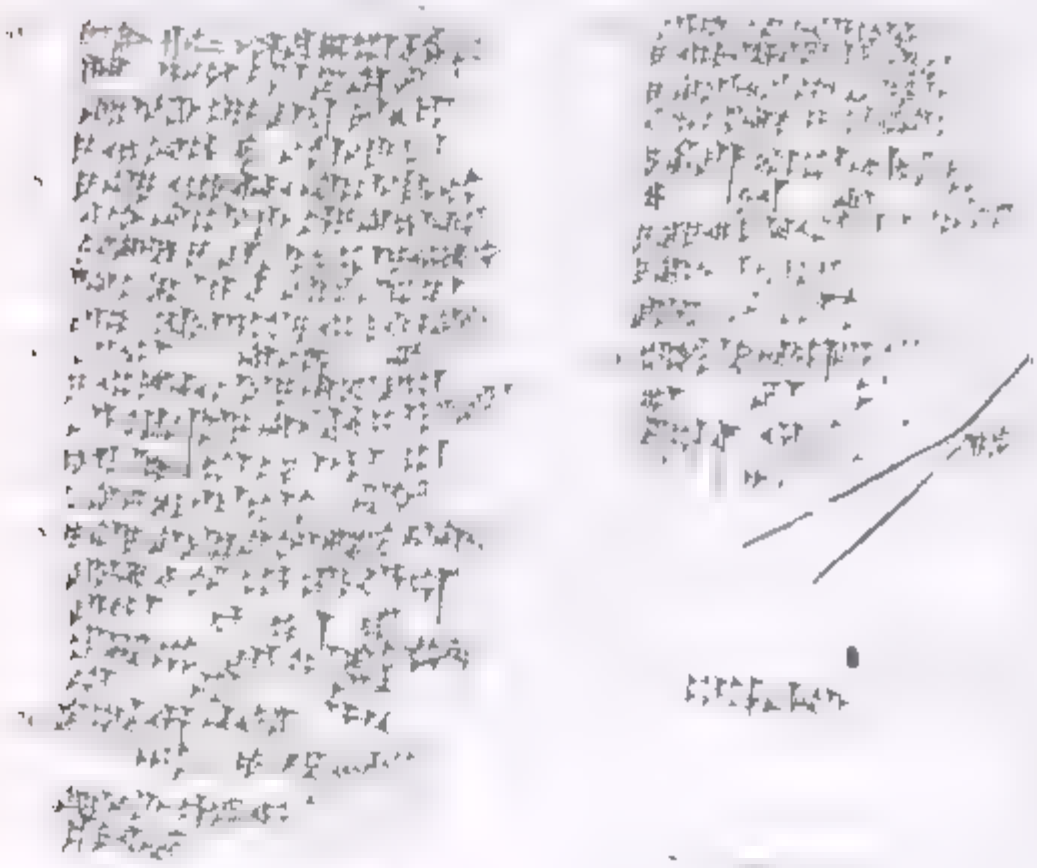
4 Thus the copy. Ungnad emends the text to gub [illegible]
5 The sign looks most like [illegible]
6 [illegible] Mittelbabylonische Opterschaupotokolle" no. 16: 2 "Should the ritual for an angry god [illegible]

[illegible] ports published to date are late Old Babylonia[illegible] origin. The new tex[illegible] mutation and [illegible] unusual because [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

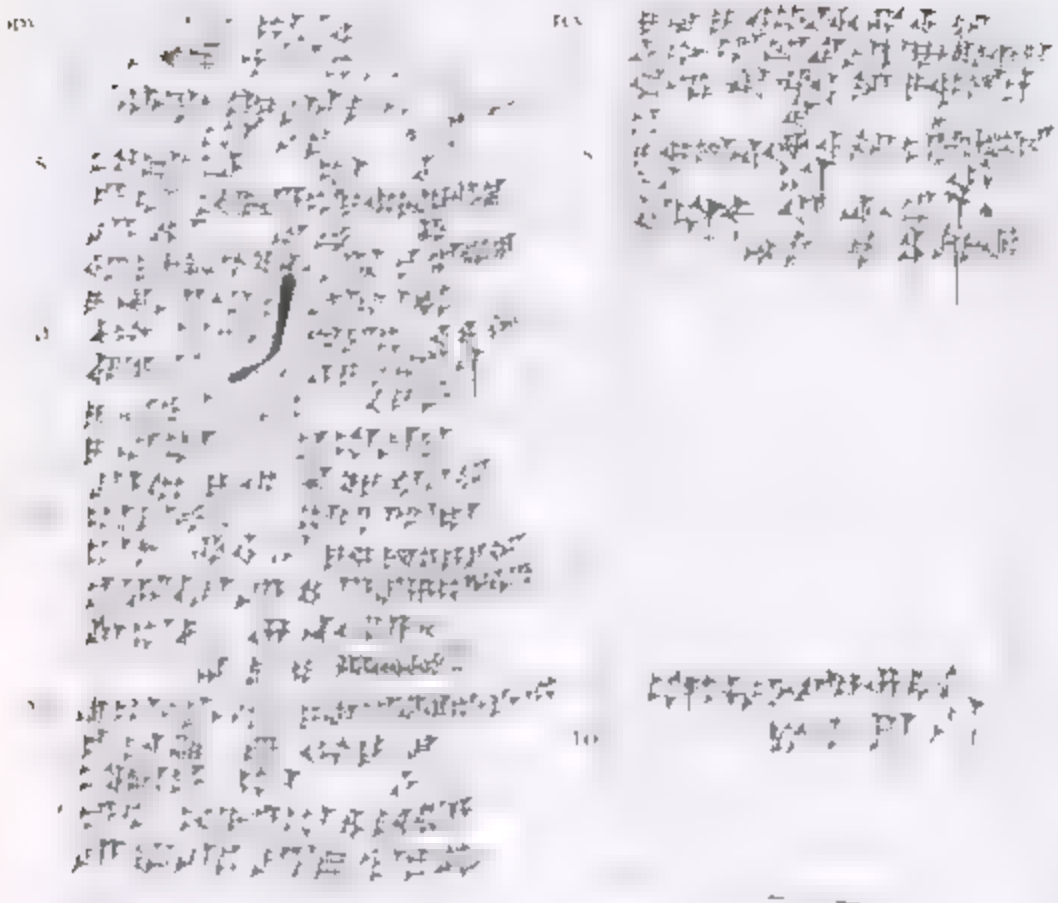
32. BM 85217 (99-4-15,24) [illegible]



2	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	[illegible]	[illegible]
12	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

33 BM 85214



	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	ká é gal *šum ša-šum*	the Palace Gate is all righ
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
16	*ṣi-ir ḫu-ši-im i-mi-ti-šum e-ki-im*	The plant of the Lung is atrophied on the righ
17	*ka-ar-ši ši-me-lam a-na 6 ša ri-ik*	the Stomach has 6 dark spots on the left
18	[illegible]	[illegible]
19	*an-ni-tum re-eš-ti-tum*	This was the first inspection
20	*na-ap-la-aš-tum i-na ši-di*	There is a View in the base of [illegible]
	[illegible]	
21	*pa-da-tum u-ul i-ši*	it does not have a Path
22	ká é gal *ša-šum*	the Palace Gate is all righ
23	*mar-tum ši-da-a-ša pi-it-ru-šú*	the base of the Gall Bladder is sph
24	*ša me-el ku-ut ša-ši-a ma pa-ši-et*	the left side of the Liver lies [illegible]
[illegible] 1	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	*an-ni tum pi-qi it tum*	This was the check-up
9	*ší ITI.SU.ŠUMMU.A ud.1.kám*	it was perfo[illegible]
10	*in-me-ep-šu*	month of D[illegible]

20 Cf. no. 32 (BM 85217): 3 and YOS 10 26 [illegible]
21 Cf. KAR 448: 5
22 One would expect a form of *šešu*, perhaps *šer ašbib* (cf. RA 38, 86: rev. 15) but the traces do not [illegible]

[illegible] *Pa*[illegible]

[illegible] the Middle Babylonian reports edited by [illegible] from the Mari Palace [illegible] and his administration. Besides [illegible]

[illegible] payment for his [illegible] Another [illegible] ARM [illegible]

[illegible] the diviners he employed [illegible] apart from those performed [illegible] ARM 26 no. 10 [illegible]

[illegible] tration he became privy to in the course [illegible] free to ply his trade.

We will examine first the most importan[illegible] Unsurprisingly, the recurrent topics are th[illegible] prosperity (*dumu*) of the land security for troops and co[illegible] mentioned in the Mari letters are routine queries about the [illegible] appear to have been regularly performed for longer periods [illegible] 88) or for shorter periods (1 month, *e.g.*, nos. 86 and 110 [illegible] sumably in special cases. Apparently extispicy should ide[illegible] army as well (no. 101). No wonder that perhaps as ma[illegible] for divination in the capital. According to one list[29] no[illegible] 1145 sheep were used for divination in 9 months. It is not [illegible] other purposes, but it [illegible] not likely since the diviner Asqudum distinguishes meticu[illegible] between animals used for extispicy, sacrifice and the "royal table." One administra[illegible] from Larsa (UCT 10 66) that details sheep used in the month of Abu for, among [illegible] with the phases of the moon also mentions "109 lambs [illegible] pery the divin[illegible] in perfect condition. With all the regular ex[illegible] toll, it must have been a permanent occupa[illegible] for the owners [illegible] investigate. We are not surprised to find [illegible] few ewes in the village, they are "hardly sufficient to p[illegible] for the diviner" (TCL 8 125, 18–19).

As we see in the Neo-Assyrian queries (edited by [illegible] SAA 4), the questions pe[illegible] (ARM 26 no. 117) the movements of the ene[illegible] the behaviour of Babylonian troops towar[illegible] exises (no. 144) the [illegible]

28 [illegible] tabi wil d[illegible]

29 M.L.293, quoted in ARM 26 p. 37. As [illegible] is due to the activities of the king cha[illegible] The first 3 months are miss[illegible]

30 Cf. also *e.g.* BE IV/2 2, 1–3: 13 u₄ 14 udu [illegible] u maš šu gid gid "13 ewes, 14 rams, 8 lambs [illegible] diviner" BE VI/1 80, 1–7: "12 lambs [illegible] apsû of Ipiq-Aja, th[illegible]

31 TCS 2, 104 no. 6: 5–"8 ga[illegible] princess. Perhaps the [illegible] coeze. TCS 2 [illegible]

Šamši-Adad[52] once writes that he wants a series of extispicies performed and the results brought to him, one concerning the well-being of the land with regard to pillaging by the [illegible] the land will rebel and one concerning the well-being of the city Kahat. A very [illegible] procedure is attested in ARM 26 no. 160: With the first lamb the diviner asked "should Zimrilim return Hit to the king of Babylon, will Zimrilim be well, his land be well and expanding?" The answer is not favourable. Then, for full measure, he asks the same question with a second lamb. "Should he not return it? etc." and here, lo and behold, the answer was favourable.

The king would instruct his officials to abide by the result of a query[53] or themselves consult a diviner when necessary. For instance, Ammi-ditana tells his officials to get their fortunes read out whether it is safe to transport corn for rations for a fortress before they actually send it (LIH I [illegible]). On the other hand, extispicies were also performed at the discretion of the king [illegible] result to him as part of the [illegible] process [illegible] ARM 26 no. 182 where Šamši-Adad explains that [illegible] king, because [illegible] keep warning [illegible] and the hem of his [illegible] behaviour. Bahdi-[illegible] king [illegible] that he should not engage in combat before Dagan, Šamaš and Addu have [illegible].[54]

Apart from political [illegible] questions with the divine could also prompt questions. For instance: Should [illegible] ARM 26 no. 162)? Should [illegible] *ugallitum* of Dagan [illegible] her predecessor (no. 178)? On [illegible] says [illegible] what [illegible] the king think (no. 179). [illegible] the making of [illegible] the goddess Belet-biri proceed (nos. 132–134). No. 81 [illegible] Yasmah-Addu, the omen mentions a promise to Sin that supposedly [illegible] Yasmah-Addu himself or his father Šamši-Adad had made but not kept. In connection with royal participation in rituals extispicy could also be [illegible] by VS 7 84 ("3 rams for Marduk's temple, 4 lambs for the temple of Ištar of Babylon for [illegible] handiwork" of the diviner) for the temple of Ištar of B[illegible] [illegible] the king's daughter went to Ishtar's temple and made the food offering [illegible] a mistake for "her"). Delivered by the herdsman R[illegible]satum received by Ilu-na[illegible].

Naturally the well-being of the king himself [illegible] was important, as is [illegible] ARM 26 no. 81, the famous letter from Asqudum prompted by a [illegible]. Though the diviner's own extispicy for the king was favourable, he still exhorts the king [illegible] where he actually is. Also more mundane affairs

53 R[illegible]

54 [illegible] divination performed and that he will send the [illegible] tablet and tells them to show the omen to a certain soldier.

55 [illegible] sends Zimrilim in a letter edited by Durand in MARI 7 p. 43 ff.

56 [illegible] Ibid. 7 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the merchandise he had bought be sold at a profit? [illegible] enterprise," which was one [illegible] standard topics of investigation for the diviner according to the first millennium compendia and should be understood in the broadest sense.

[illegible] before risking its safety. Qurdušu writes: "Take a lamb from the herd and bring it to the [illegible] full report" (TCL 1 [illegible]). Mention [illegible] the subject of YOS 2 83 (AbB 7 83), where the diviner [illegible] have referred the matter to another expert. Why he does not perform the extispicy [illegible] is unclear. Lu Nanna to Ubarrum: "I wrote to Ilšu-ibbišu, the diviner, and he [illegible] I have written to Ningizzida-gamil and he answered, 'I [illegible] ble sign' and the writer is duly concerned [illegible] would be dangerous [illegible] the boat of Warad-Ištar going to Emar), not least if one had for[illegible]gotten one's dues [illegible]

[illegible] Mar[illegible] expert." [illegible] ld be invoked: Enlil, Ninurta, Nasku or even [illegible] frequently tested [illegible] its his hybris asks: "Wha[illegible] what will ever asked the lema[illegible] BWL 38 6–7) the suffering [illegible] has not got to the root of the matter [illegible]

11 Perhaps because he is preoccupied with the safety of his cattle Qurdušu had first written (l. 23 [illegible] he enemy will not seize *them* (*i.e.* his cattle)," then, remembering his men, emended it to [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] dream-interpreter" (PBS 1/1 2: 3

[illegible] the scholarly literature of the period [illegible] the king and state naturally occupies [illegible] Babylonian caution everything — and all the rest — is included.

[illegible]

Redeeming a Father's Seal

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

358. The [illegible] has been taken up by [illegible] of this text was included in the eighth [illegible] principal to a contract; mentions year [illegible] *et al.* 1988: 150). The correct understanding of the text was hampered by the poor state of preservation of certain passages [illegible] efforts of the damaged signs at the end of lines 13 and 15 testify to previous decipherment endeavours.

[illegible] the text [illegible] by the transfer of these seals that [illegible] about [illegible] from possession of seals [illegible] d by Ilum-damiq, members of his family and other land [illegible]

This study is offered in gratitude to Christopher Walker, whom we owe much for his [illegible] working conditions in the Students' Room of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum.

BM 78356 (Bu 88-5-12,242) 8.3×4.9×2.7 cm

[illegible]

2 [illegible] dingir [illegible]

[illegible]

4 [illegible]

[illegible]

6 [illegible]

[illegible]

8 *mu-bar* dingir [illegible]

[illegible]

10 *ar-ki* dingir *šu-il-*[illegible]

[illegible]

12 1 gin ku babbar ^{d}suen *mu-ta-lim a-na* dam-gar-[illegible]

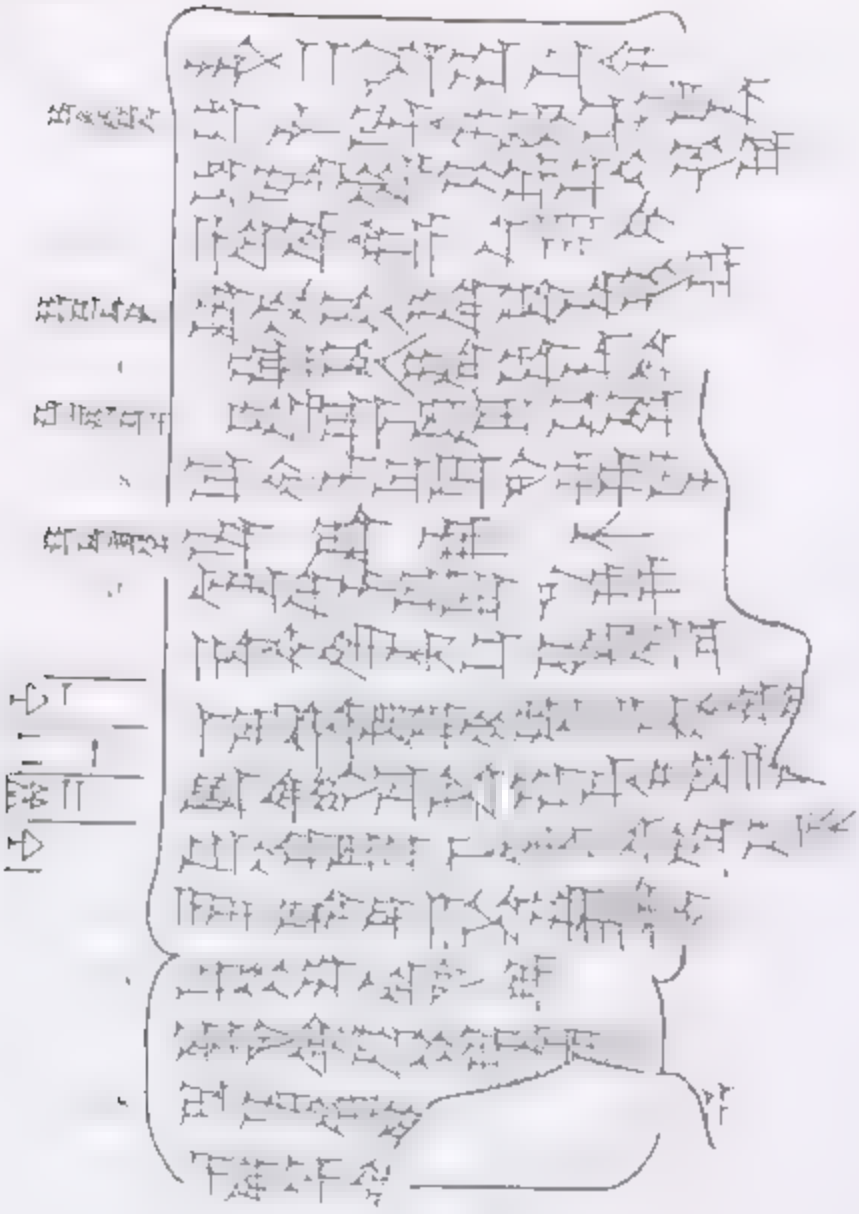
[illegible]

14 [illegible] lam-[illegible]

[illegible]

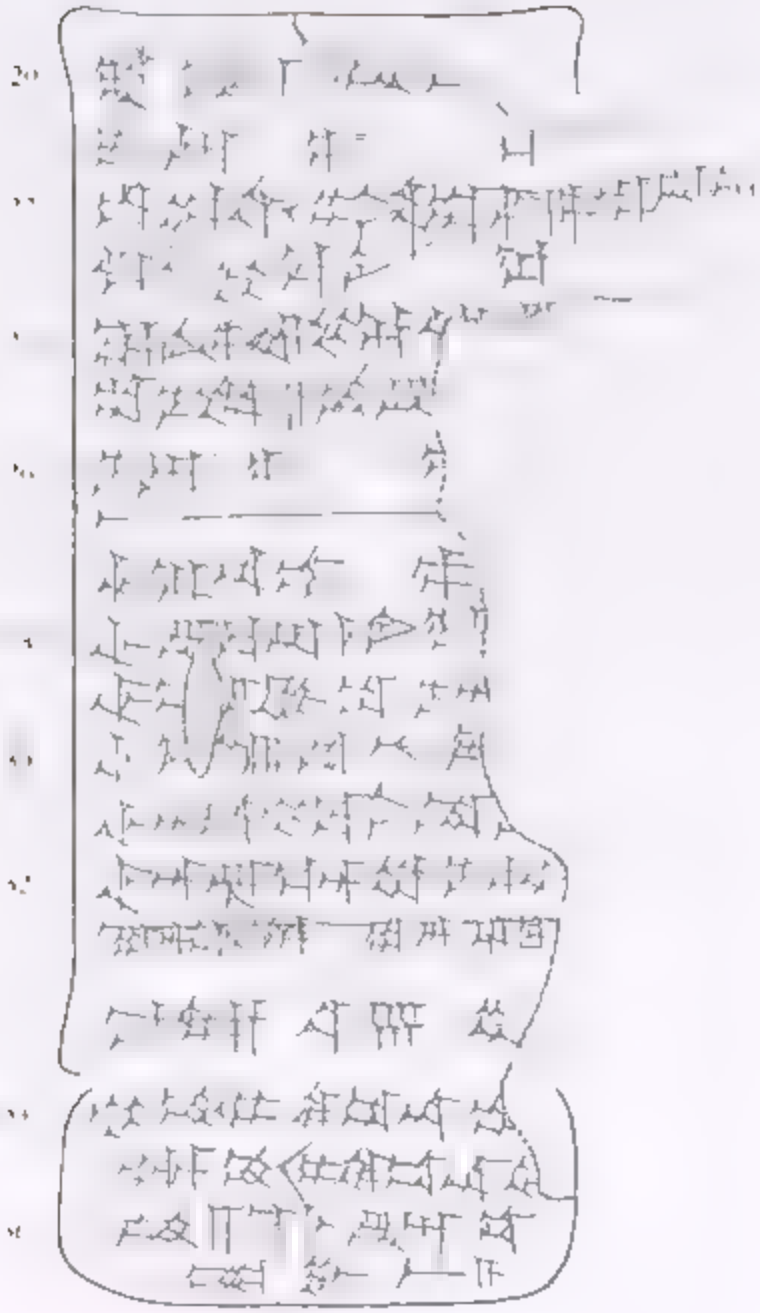
[illegible] seal could [illegible]

BM 78356 Obv
1/1 original size



[illegible]

BM 78356 k



[illegible]

24 *ka-ni-ki im* še-e *ii* 'ku' [illegible]

[illegible]

28 [illegible]
gi *ta-ri-bu-um* dumu AN-[...]

30 [illegible]
gi ᵈmarduk-*mu-ba-li-it* [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] kaši

U. E. mu *am-mi-di-ta-na* lu[gal ...]
[illegible]

36 gú ᵈme-ᵈen-lil-ta
[illegible] in-du [illegible]

As for the two name seals of the head of the assembly Ilum-damiq, which were [illegible] day 7, month 5 of year 39 of Ammi-ditana — after the death of the captain Ilsu-ibni, Sin-[illegible] has taken and made an impression of (these) two seals in the presence of the [illegible] redeemed, Sin-musallim will pay claims (resulting from) sealed document(s) for barley [illegible]

Witnesses: the captain Sinatum, Sin-remeni son of Attaya; Tarihum son of Belsunu son of [illegible] Marduk-nuballit son of [illegible] Ištar-manum son of [illegible]

[illegible] the fifth seating traces of a four-line legend without annotation can be [illegible]

1. kišib 30-*mu ša-lim* (Le. E.): the contracting [illegible]
2. kišib *si-na-tum* (Le. E.): the first witness.
3. kišib *a-at-ta-a* (Le. E.): the father of the second [illegible]
4. kišib *ta-ri-bu-um* (Le. E.): the third witness
5. ᵢr-[...] / x x [...] / dumu *a*-[...] / ᵢr [...] (Le. E.): seal used by Belsunu, the four[illegible]
6. kišib ᵈmarduk-*mu-ba-li-it* (Rev.): the fifth w[illegible]
   kišib ᵈnanna-ma-šan-sumi (Re[illegible]

third year of Ammi[illegible] [illegible] Ammiditana (see below). Since [illegible] tion of the history of these seals [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Otto 1995). An illustrative Old

3, a "flat cla

of the seal of a

the seal's legend, which

two parts. An other

ably acquired wit

ments by others than the owner o

the excessive demands

n this context should be

obligations.

f these seals from the me

or both parties, which they tried

f of the text. Šin-mušallim

with the aid of his newly

his heir as the succeeding head

nor is one kn

By acquiring ownership of t

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] death. Since no reference to Ilu [illegible] likely that a period [illegible] when an adult wh[illegible] his brother, but his immunity was weakened [illegible] Although the tex[illegible] explicitly designates these sea[illegible] they had been used by Ilu[illegible] responsible for his brother's debts. H[illegible] ty wh[illegible] implies that he ceded all [illegible] ate this [illegible] part of th[illegible]

[illegible] additional claims at the exp[illegible] ted and stipu[illegible] ated the second part of the co[illegible] of the seal [illegible] or his co leagues only. One [illegible] ll n that also contained the nam[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] likely that the seventeen sea[illegible] lam iv. It was common practice in the Old [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and status (Leisser 1998, 116f.). For [illegible] Hammurabi at least until the second [illegible] van Lerberghe 1989). D. Charpin (1990 [illegible] seals to the eldest son was connected with [illegible] name in many Old Babylonian seal ley[illegible] ated with the concept of progeny [illegible] the personal existence of the father [illegible]

[illegible] ditary lines, whereby the son took [illegible] alternative for Sin-iddinam [illegible] ds while ensuring that he could not be [illegible] This deal demanded the [illegible]

[illegible] ool by which a person identified [illegible] transaction. Seals were owned [illegible] impression of such a highly [illegible]

[illegible] not [illegible] ownership and use of seals has led one [illegible] or without legends, do not identify the [illegible] Mutly 1981 400). Thus a [illegible] eement by leaving behind an [illegible] creation of gods or [illegible] person. A [illegible] Old Babylonian [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] been compared" (Mühly 1981: 400).

[illegible] of its disappearance. In one Old Babylonian example (Klengel 1968; photo in [illegible]) [illegible] documents must have been to absolve the owner of the seal from any legal or financial responsibility [illegible] (Ali 1964; Hallo 1977: 56f.)[14] and a legal compendium with a section about lost seals [illegible] of dreams of losing one's seal as well as rituals to remedy the portents of damage or [illegible] found in later canonical compositions (Hallo 1977: 58).

[illegible] stating that Sin-muballit was responsible for all obligations contracted [illegible] seals from the day of their transfer [illegible] liability for obligations that could be undertaken by using the seal [illegible] date of handing over features prominently in [illegible]

1 The wording of AL AM 73.7261 (to be published as AUCT 5.47) is almost [illegible] the text published by H. Klengel (1968: 1 *d-ta* ᵐUr-ᵈUN [illegible] 30-1) [illegible] ing a man (ᵐ *i-mi-ti*) [illegible] he names a [illegible] position (the ensi Lugal-melam, one of the witnesses, and the merchant Ur-ᵈUN) [illegible] However, Ur-ᵈUN as well as other persons are also arrested in other Old Babylonian [illegible]

[illegible] could be [illegible] only represe[illegible]

[illegible] owner even if he did not [illegible] sealer and, moreover, to prove that the [illegible] he supposed [illegible] like a modern signature (Leemans 1982 [illegible]

[illegible] dently [illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible] Bl[illegible]tessier observed with reason that [illegible] high status (Tessier 1998: 113 [illegible] no doubt restricted the possibilities to [illegible] unsuitable, as is indicated by the fact [illegible] one's own "name seal" was conse[illegible] bated to sealing by high-ranking [illegible] or royal sealing this aspect is well docu[illegible] regarding the power of impression [illegible] leges (Winter 2001: 2–3) and it seems [illegible] [illegible] exercise of authority, but [illegible] himself" (Winter [illegible] rely explains the owner's anxiety when it [illegible]

[illegible] of the lost seal) (Al[illegible]

[illegible] ving. There is no impre[illegible] (MAT 10.95: Sumatum to her fa[illegible]

The "captain [illegible] with other military officials. He appe[illegible]

Ad 08-09-05	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 0-09	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ad 25-02-12	IC I 154	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ad 32-02-05	CT[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 34-04-13	BBVO[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Ilsu-ibni PA.TA.A.S. Ilum-damq Ibbi-Ilabrat dumu-é-dub-ba-a
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ilsu-ibni PA.TA.A.S. Ilum-damq	[illegible]
6	[illegible]	six members of eren *zambur*	Ibbi-Ilabrat ugula mar tu Ilsu-ibni PA.PA Ibbi-Ilabrat dumu-é-dub-ba-a

[illegible] first three texts record rights of Ilsu-ibni. These tablets might have been preserved [illegible] played an important role in the management of military landholdings. These references [illegible] of this hoard is summarised in table 1, nos. 1–9. It dates to the third and fourth decades of [illegible]

[illegible] leases of fields of low-ranking holders (such as the troops of Sippar) in no. 6 and pre- [illegible]

[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
⇐	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]-ganam s. Sin-[illegible]	Ibbi-Ilabrat [illegible]	
	Sin-[illegible] s. [illegible]	Warad-Sin s. Sin-idinnam a	Bu[illegible]
		[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	
	[illegible] PN	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	
		[illegible] s. Mandi[illegible]	

a [illegible]

b The *ugarum ba-ra-ab* is sometimes described as a part of the *uskum* or [illegible] [illegible] III [illegible] 1, 23, 39 [illegible]

[illegible]

	[illegible]	
	C 1, 45, 5)	"One household with its wine and including its cool beer [illegible]
	Ad [illegible]	[illegible] Ibbi-Ilabrat is given as his soldier's ba-ase to the smith Ilmi-Sennam [illegible] su-ibni-PA-PA and Ibbi-Ilabrat dumu-é-duh-ba [illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Ad 34, 46–21	ermen of Sippir under the command of the genera Ibbi-Ilabrat" (dul [illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

[illegible]

Most military officials are attested only during a short period of time [illegible] them do not occur often outside this file. Only Sinatum, alias Sin-nād [illegible] [illegible] grandson of [illegible]

The file of texts assembled above contains all information available about [illegible] during the final decade of his life. Here nothing distinguishes him from his [illegible] [illegible] suggested by the following document:

BM 78557 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Šā *u-nu-ut e-gal*

[illegible]

[illegible] from Damqatum the wife of the captain Ilšu-ib[illegible]

[illegible] of Ibni-Samas. Date: day 14 of the [illegible]

[illegible]

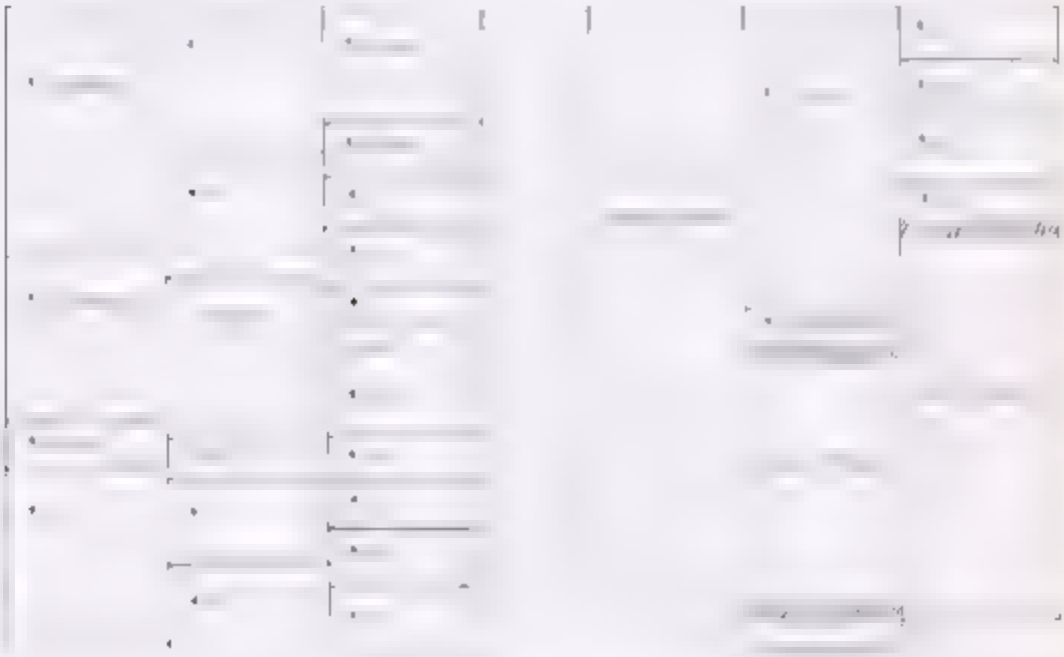
[illegible] square tablet is a receipt for copper utensils obtained from the wife of the [illegible] items are described as palace property assigned for use to Ilšu-ibni [illegible] on two different occasions: most tools were part of [illegible] explicitly labeled as having been "allocated to Ilšu-[illegible] distinction between these two categories is not clear. Perhaps the first tools [illegible] earlier and were obtained by Ilšu-ibni from a predecessor or [illegible] additional sickle had been given out by a palace administrator [illegible]

[illegible] Ilšu-ibni and his wife. Less than two months after this transaction the estate of Ilšu-ibni was in the process of being dissolved, so that [illegible] [illegible] *tuddinum* Samassumi are well documented as buyers of real estate, but so far none of [illegible] contracts has come to light. Their acquisitions are known exclusively from a num[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Mult 1 [illegible] [illegible] final lines of the text on the upper edge below the fifth column (these are the [illegible] as U.E. on plate 70 of BE 6/1) [illegible] The layout of this tab[illegible]

Fig. 1 BE 6/1 119 Obv. BE 6/1 119 R.



The [illegible]

[illegible] sought down a save of the [illegible]

[illegible]

a [illegible] to PN, PN *nama*. Short description of field transfer + *sa* to PN *nama*. Cadastre + description of plot wi[illegible]

b [illegible]

c [illegible]

d [illegible]

[illegible] the first [illegible] ¶ 10–12 and ¶ 16–18.

MHET 2/5 656 is the lower third part of a two-column tablet. The sequence of [illegible] two and three [illegible] lap, they generally agree [illegible].[28]

[illegible]

Fig. 2: MHET 2/5 656 Obv. MHET [illegible]

28 Minor [illegible] appear, for example between the end of ¶ 4 of BE 6/1 119 and ¶ B of MHET 2/5 656.

[illegible] MHET [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] field) holding of (male, PN,[illegible] or simply *ša* PN [illegible] in explanations about the prehistory of the [illegible] ¶ 6, where the original acquisition by the seller [illegible] mentioned, or notably in ¶ 1' (¶ C in MHET 2 [illegible] deceased merchant sold by a number of judges [illegible] f Sippir-Amnanum to Ilum-damiq in order to [illegible]

[illegible] with rounded corners. The [illegible] BM [illegible] These [illegible] ¶1 and 6 of BE 6/1 119, but the phrasing of the [illegible] BM [illegible] designs with the information in the register.[32] It seems [illegible] and register were compiled with the

[illegible]

[illegible] pile registers or vice versa.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

given in the register, but it seems obvious that all tablets described in this text were [illegible]

13 OLA 21, 63 consists of the following section:

A. [1] 1 dub <<x>> 0.0.5 iku 70 sar *a-šà a-gàr bu-ra-ab*[2] *ša* <ki> *ut-ul-nu ta* dumu [illegible] bought from Nide[illegible]

B. [4] 1 dub 0.0.1 iku 110 sar 20 *ša a-ga* [illegible]

C. [11] 1 dub x+ 0 0 iku a-šà *ša bu-ur-ta-tum ša* x x x x [12] 1 dub [illegible] iku a-šà a-gàr *bu* [illegible] 1 dub [illegible] x iku a-šà a-gàr *bu-ra-ab*[14] 1 + 1 2 dub *ba-a-ri ḫ-ma-tim* [5] [illegible] 9 dub [illegible] field that Buratum [illegible] one concerning x iku field in the Bura-district, one tablet con[illegible] bought [illegible]

E. [17] 1 dub *ap-lu-tim a-gàr bu-ra-ab*[18] *ša il-ti-ši.* "One inheritance deed (concerning a field [illegible]

[illegible] um-damiq and especially by his [illegible] area, the irrigation districts of [illegible] active in agricultural matters [illegible] unity to one another (e.g., the [illegible] acquired, see §2 and 3). The [illegible] Nane-iku district, but these pos[illegible] Nuḫruša and other sor[illegible] as property of ind[illegible] real estate therefore handed his [illegible] able to remedy the situation [illegible] real estate owners not only pro[illegible] pes of documents, such as copies [illegible] different types of excerpts [illegible] results (Janssen 1996). In [illegible] the written findings from S ppi[illegible]

[illegible] far not a single original sale con[illegible] ers has been identified. This [illegible] the locality where the rul[illegible] the seizure of his [illegible] and the relevant title deeds, has [illegible] aster of his estate [illegible] nds to new owners, he also [illegible] or example CH A 21 [illegible]

registers were [illegible] information is irrelevant [illegible] survey of all fields in the district [illegible] It is known [illegible] It is clear that the sons of Ilum-damiq shared ownership of at least part of their land.[38] Both Sin-muṣallim[39] and Ilu-[illegible]

The registers and related texts are preserved in two museum acquisition collections: the Bu 88-5-12 collection of the British Museum (London) and the second Khabaz collection of the University Museum [illegible] together by the person who controlled Ilu-ibni's estate.[40] This assemblage also included [illegible] BM [illegible] parcels handed over to Ilu-ibni's brother Sin-muṣallim and presumably the [illegible]

91 See BE 6/2 110 (A[illegible]

92 [illegible]

38 Ilu-ibni, son of Ilum-damiq, leases out houses in ARN 168 (A[illegible]) and BM 81353 [illegible] the fact that he [illegible] military land lord [illegible]

39 CT 4 36c (loan), BM 8532 (promissory note), BM 80080 (sale of doors), BM 78557 (objects [illegible]

40 [illegible]

The identity of the new master of Hezabiyes is unfortunately remains obscure. He is only mentioned once as [illegible] BM 78356, and the sources are silent about the reasons behind his [illegible] of the estate. It is certainly possible that other [illegible] hands. To find out more information [illegible] one assumes that this anonymous master [illegible] the real estate. [illegible] texts [illegible] with one of the [illegible] and the second Khabaza collection. But this [illegible]

[illegible]

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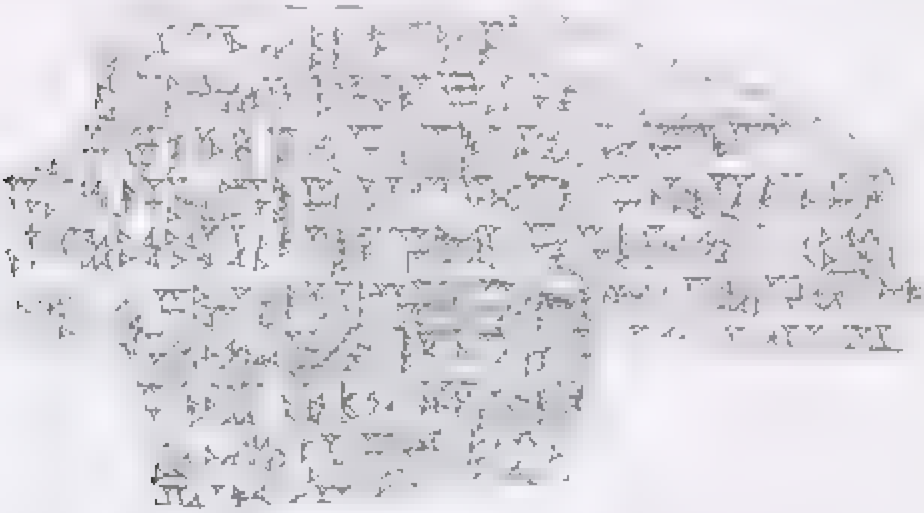
Working in Elam

John MacGinnis — Cambridge

It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity to [illegible] Assyriological [illegible] Christopher Walker. [illegible] along with every other Assyriologist who has come to work in the British Museum [illegible]

No. 1: BM 61766 (82-9-18,1735) 11.2+×6.4+cm Darius –/12/29



1 [x GUR ŠE BAR ?26 GUR ZÚ LUM MA
2 MUN] HI A *sah-le-e* 2 (PI) 2-BAN 7½ ˹NINDA˺ [BI.ŠAP]
3 [... x G]UN 7 *ma-na* SÍG HI A 53 ^{túg}*me-še-˹e˺* [illegible]
4 [...] ˹A˺ BAR ^{giš}ERIM MEŠ *e-piš dul-˹lu˺ ša* [illegible] *u* UN MEŠ
5 [...] ˹x˺ *ze-bi-il si-du-a-ta* SUK HI A *šu-nu* ŠE BAR *u* ZÚ LUM MA
6 [illegible]
7 ^{iti}ŠE MU 29 KAM ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-˹muš* LUGAL *la ina* ŠU [^{m}x (x)˺]
8 [... A *šu ša* ^{md}EN *ik-sur u* ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ *it-tan-nu* A-*su ša* [illegible] *ša*
9 [^{md}UTU-*a-a*] ^{lú}TIL.GÍD DA *ša* É BABBAR.RA *ina*
10 [...]˹x x x x˺ [...] (large gap

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

No. 2: BM 64088 (82-9-18 4057 Bezt[illegible] 2.[illegible]2[illegible] 5.0 × 3.9 cm Darius 6/8/12

1 30 GUR ZU I UM MA
2 *ša-ta* E NIG.GA *ina* SU II
3 [illegible]
4 *a-na* [illegible] *ḫ*-NIM *mat a-na*
5 [illegible] NAM II GAL [illegible] ID DA
6 [illegible]
[illegible] APIN UD 6 KAM MU 12 KAM
8 *m*Da-ri-ia-ú-muš LU GAL TIN TIR[illegible]
9 LU GAL IKUR KUR

Translation

[illegible]
12. Darius king of Babylon, king of countries

[illegible] Sippar [illegible] Lahiru. For example, MacGinnis, Mesopotamia 31 No. 30: 5 reads

[illegible] Lahiru. This is in addition to the previous 360 *l.* of barley which my lord gave him

[illegible] Nana [illegible] Nana [illegible] the [illegible] Kifri (34 37N 44 51E) and (b) a southern Lahiru which he believes was certainly Yaburu, perhaps somewhere near the [illegible] town of Kuwait (32 27N 47 10E). Of these (a) is the closer to Sippar, approximately [illegible]

[illegible] that the latter is correct. Lahiru may also occur in BM 82695 line 6 (from Borsippa
[illegible] Dated to the reign of Cyrus by the presence of the *a*-[illegible]
[illegible]

further away [illegible] km to the southeast, but would appear to be directly on the route from Sippar to Susa.[6]

Separate from the [illegible] texts were also [illegible] from Sippar performing service in Elam in the reign of Darius as a result of *ilku* obligations. This service did not [illegible] there was a crossover between military and [illegible] service [illegible] Sippar during the reign of Darius. [illegible] BM 42352, published by Jursa, records a payment [illegible] as a share of bow service to each workman located in Elam [illegible] presents BM [illegible] also [illegible] Darius I.[7] [illegible] *pirsu* [illegible] Darius 26 (Darius 9)[8] and a settling of accounts of the *pirsu* [illegible] in Dar 293: 10–11 (Darius year 10).[9] The [illegible] soldiers.[10] Another document in this context is Camb 13 (Cambyses accession), a [illegible] taking with them silver in lieu of bow service to pay [illegible] when they go [illegible] workers [illegible] known. Were they considered part of the army? We await more texts.

[illegible] Sippar texts [illegible] Nabonidus [illegible] Elam. A few [illegible] Basunu [illegible] more Elamite sounding Ummanšipir.[12] Barley tithes from royal land cultivated by the Herold of Elam are mentioned in Nabonidus year 12.[13] [illegible] Lahiru in the Sippar texts deal with barley imported from the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] CT 56: 776: 12–13 [illegible] (Nebuchadnezzar 4, receiving wool). Basunu [illegible] BM 74491 (Cambyses 1). Ummanšipir CT 57: 212 (Nabopolassar 9, receiving bar[illegible]

[illegible]

district [illegible] BM 62[illegible] [illegible] of Cambyses one or two mounted officials from Babylon receive dates and oil.[16]

As for *ilku* [illegible] this has been most recently surveyed by MacGinnis 1998. Essentially, the term was used for the processing and shipping of the sent out from Sippar to perform various services within the temple.[17] The term is also found occasionally in contexts which are not obviously military: [illegible] carpenters [illegible] Our present attestation may belong to this class. It is probable that both carpenters sent to the Ebabbar and workers sent to Elam were accompanied by a military escort.

[illegible] a few remarks on the [illegible] itself. [illegible] carpenters from the [illegible] Cambyses makes it [illegible] they were drawn from the ranks of the temple slaves (*širu*, [illegible] [illegible] gardeners [illegible] workers.[19] [illegible] workers [illegible] which 1 or 2 carpenters and up to 3 smiths might be seen [illegible] [illegible] BM [illegible] were three [illegible] However, the 56 kur dates would have sufficed for four months for (56 × 4 = 224) with 2 kur left over. The surplus 2 kur is a mystery but the difference between [illegible] the *ugula* (who directed the gang and received double rations, possibly to include his deputy the *ugula-ugula*) and the [illegible] [illegible] BM [illegible] does not take account of the [illegible] BM [illegible] [illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] in equal quantities, so perhaps [illegible] with deployment. The logistics behind such an operation are lost to us but must have been impressive.

15 ZA 4, 146, No. 19: 28 (Nabopolassar 21). Note that *ša-am la bir-ti* TUG KUR RA *la bir-ti* and [illegible] Nbn 703: 5-6: 6 *ša-ši-ši-ti la bi-ri* 6 TUG KUR RA *la bi-ri*. BM 63947 (Berlin 122): 1 TUG KUR RA MEŠ *la bi-i-ri* and *ša-am la bi-i-ti-ni*. BM 63956 (Berlin 144): 1 TUG KUR RA MEŠ [illegible]

16 [illegible] also mentioned in [illegible] BM 51645 rev. 1 (no date) and in BM 52[illegible] Nabopolassar [illegible] have been written at Lahiru.

17 Borgeaar 1997: 131 and n. 143.

18 Borgeaar [illegible]

19 MacGinnis in press.

20 MacGinnis 1995: 161.

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Dendrinos, M. A.

[illegible] Stones above in the Paracas [illegible] of Nazca and the Andes [illegible]

[illegible] Moons and the Cosmos [illegible] Nasca Culture BC Research Society for Bodies [illegible]

[illegible] Women in Ancient Peru [illegible] M. Morris, T. Ogawa and A. Yoshikawa eds. *New Perspectives on Ancient Peru* [illegible] Museum of Ancient Peru [illegible] Museum [illegible]

[illegible] Nasca and Paracas [illegible] *Ancient Peru* [illegible] 123

Fernandez

[illegible] *Ritual* [illegible] *Ancient Peru* [illegible]

Nazca, M. D. A.

[illegible] *Nasca* [illegible] *Paracas* [illegible]

[illegible] Nasca B Ceramics [illegible] Museum [illegible]

[illegible] RM [illegible] WORKMESS [illegible] 83

[illegible] Nasca [illegible]

Zuidema, D.

[illegible] *Nasca* [illegible]

Fernandez

[illegible] Nasca Ceramic Studies [illegible] Nasca [illegible]

[illegible] Nasca Ceramic Studies [illegible] NAB [illegible] 28

Zuidema, R.

[illegible] Nasca B Ceramics [illegible] Nasca Culture BC [illegible]

[illegible] Nasca [illegible] NAB [illegible] 28

Zawadzki, S.

[illegible] *Nasca* [illegible] R. Dittmann [illegible] *Ancient Peru* [illegible] *Peru* [illegible] NOAA [illegible]

A Charm Against Demons of Time*

Christa Müller-Kessler — Jena

[illegible]

The Mandaic charm against demons of time has been awaiting pu[illegible] belongs to a set of lead, silver and gold amulets attrib[illegible] Mama pat Adurdukht and Sabur bar Narsavdukht.[1] The archive was discov[illegible] Col. H.S. Alexander in a lead jar under the foundations of a private house i[illegible] Qurnah situated at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates in s[illegible] ing a private dig between 1910 and 1920. A few years later in 1924 the [illegible] Department of the Ancient Near East in the British Museum.[2] In previous articles I have [illegible]

The selected charm on BM 135794 II has an u[illegible] the client against the harms of demons of time, that means terms [illegible] hour, minute and other terms of time that were considered threa[illegible]

The work on the [illegible] Humboldt-Foundation's Feodor Lynen program and several research visits were supported b[illegible] permission to publish the lead amulet BM [illegible]

1 The clients appear here under their aramaic names, which are not real names. The real [illegible]

2 Former Department of Western Asia [illegible] The [illegible] Representations and Its Rendering in Various Eastern Aramaic Dialect[illegible] Z (2000) 293-310; *idem* and K. Kessler [illegible]

[illegible]

965–10–13.4), where the continuation of the text from one lead sheet to another is [illegible]

The first two thirds (ll. 1–74) of the text of the charm against demons of time are very repetitive, employing the same banning formula "bound, subdued and destroyed as ....". [illegible] Paralus (= foliage) and Lilus (= branches), but the root of the tree is not [illegible] One Dew of this tree is singled out by the speaker. With this act of ritu[illegible] Finally, all evil elements are driven out by the [illegible] archangel Gabriel and the Mandaic highest being "Lile." The incantation is [illegible] corresponding to the magic circle appearing on magic bowls.

[illegible] A, but a shorter and modified version written by the same scribe, was auctioned by Christie's, London, in April 1998 and is published as an appendix in M. [illegible]

The text passage of incantation 1Ab is identical with the late version from the nineteenth ce[illegible] which however deviates from the older one, see E. S. Drower, "Shafta d-Bshra d-Aima," JRAS 1937, 589–611, 1938, 1–2, [illegible]

[illegible] formerly owned by a Mr. H. T. [illegible]

1Ac[b] (= BM 135794 II, ll. 10–109)

[illegible]

COLUMN [illegible]

[illegible]

30 *wbylyb d-s'qybwn wm'sqy* and evil ones who move and wa[illegible]
31 *bwn wm bylybw'n bbyb d-* in them and harm the ch[illegible]
32 *'d'm bzrv'z' d-* [illegible]
33 *kbyly' wmbtly' ywmy'* subdued and destroyed are the days
34 *wym my[illegible] pykr qyn* and days[illegible], the perverted cr[illegible]
35 *wbyly' d-qr'b' 'syry'* as [illegible]
36 *kbyly' wmbtly' b[illegible]*
37 *p[illegible]*
38. *qr b' 'syry kbysy'* war b[illegible]
39 *wmbtly rw yhry'* and [illegible]

8 [ ] superfluous letters, [...] missing letters, ' ... ' partly legible letters, " ... " supra linear le[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] but in Akkadian [illegible] a day), see CAD sub voce. This should be assumed [illegible]

[illegible] as a higher unit and shows an unusual plene spelling [illegible]

[illegible] Mandaic hardly ever distinguishes between the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Mandaic, but from the contents it is conceivable that [illegible]

[illegible] though it is generally under- [illegible] K. Beyer as invocation in Aramaic [illegible] loan verbs in Middle Aramaic [illegible] for deep, would, as supported by [illegible] incantation is opened by *bg n šwm' rb' ln* [illegible] help of the first Word against" (3Aa1–3) [illegible] Mandaic doxological introduction [illegible]

[illegible] the name part *b'g* occurs as one demiurge of [illegible]

[illegible] occurs for the [illegible] time [illegible] became dim in Syriac and in [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Mandaic Lead Amulet with Four Incantations (Hebr [illegible]

[illegible] Mandaic [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Units of Time as Cosmic Powers in Sumero-Babylonian Texts

[illegible]

[illegible] Marduk demons [illegible] by [illegible] texts. These texts were essentially [illegible] to drive away evil [illegible] such as mountains and rivers were also invoked. [illegible] text in addition also invokes the main divisions of time

zi ud sakar-ud(sic! collated) mu-a hu

[illegible]

PBS I/2 115 obv. 13–14

Be (exorcised) by day, month, [illegible]

ud-sakar = *arhu*, see CAD [illegible]

A second parallel occurs in BM 68[illegible] 10. The text is a hymn to Marduk in which [illegible] invited to bless Marduk [illegible]

[illegible]

Samaš bless Marduk. Enlil, bless the lord of Esagil

Obv. 10 reads

[illegible]

Obv. 8 has the same three nouns sign for sign, but what follows is broken off.

[illegible] Marduk demons [illegible] go back [illegible]

A Note on the *Akitu*-House at Ḫarran*

Jamie R. Novotny — Toronto

Not only did Assurbanipal (668–631) assume [illegible] projects that were still unfinished at the death of his fa[illegible] he also initiated a number of building enterprises himself. Assyria's last [illegible] no less than fifteen cities, but it was only Babylon, Ḫarrān, and Nineveh that received extra special attention. The second of these, a large [illegible]son and important trading centre situated on the route between the Mediterranean Sea and the plains of the middle Tigris [illegible] of, or at least references to, building and decorating these temples appear in no less than

* A.K. Grayson, G. Frame, and R.F.G. Sweet kind[illegible] made valua[illegible] offered helpful suggestio[illegible] to E.E. Curtis and C.B.F. Walker the l[illegible]ent this Festschrift for permis[illegible] Assurbanipal inscriptions in the Br[illegible]. Further thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for the kind permission to publish the [illegible] K 2664+. My apprec[illegible]ch Council of Canada and the University of Toronto [illegible] upport the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Pr[illegible] as the preparation of this article. This study was prepared in [illegible]n with a wider Ph.D. study on building activities at Ḫarrān during the reign [illegible]

Based on the greeting formulae of Mār Istar Esar[illegible] SAA 10, 304 no. 369: 4–6

[illegible] *nu* of Ḫarrān that Sin regularly occurre[illegible] embers of the royal family, and that Assur-etel-same-ese[illegible] *u*-priest of Sin-of-Ḫarrā[illegible] bel te. For Ḫarrān in the Neo-Assyrian period, see Postgate, RlA 4 [illegible] *Akkadische Texte* 1: 88–89 and Pongratz-Leisten, [illegible] *Beiträge* 549–550 and nn. 3–4, 6. In addition, Ḫarrān's importance [illegible] by K[illegible]

? [illegible] see Ebeling, RlA 2 [illegible]

[illegible] inscriptions [illegible] and summary inscription editions from Nineveh and K[illegible] [illegible] texts intended for Harrān. However, despite the number of texts in which Assurbanipal boasts [illegible] there are only four different reports [illegible] that [illegible] in the various [illegible] inscriptions [illegible] concerning the temple at Harrān:

1. [illegible]
2. the canonical first summary report (Prisms I [= Borger's TVarl.*] C, CND) [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. the second summary report (Inscription from the Ištar Temple = H)

[illegible] recently [illegible] that Harrān was known only [illegible] by [illegible] these four reports. A further, closer examination of K 2664+, however, reveals that this [illegible] contains a building report which commemorates the completion of this festival temple, and not Ešḫarrā as previously thought. [illegible] presenting the evidence for this new interpretation.

Like other important Assyrian [illegible] Aššur, Kalḫu, Nineveh, Harrān also had an *akītu*-house. Although the earliest extant reference to the

[illegible] whereas Prism CND (= C Kalach) comes from Nimrud. For brief studies of these editions [illegible]

1 For the summary inscriptions, see n. 5 and the discussion of K 2664+ below. The relatively short [illegible] K 56, K 2813 + K 8394 + K 18544 + 79-7-8,134, K 2822 + DT 133 (+) K 2826 + K 8[illegible] [illegible] are either archival copies or *Vorlage* texts. For details on these archives and [illegible] [illegible] fig. 13), K 4451 (BWA pls. 39–40), K 5564 (BWA LoBI 30), and K 6368. Omission [illegible] of *ina arraniti* (accession year) in the building inscription, is *664* since the decree [illegible] *Assurbanipal's Prunkte Campaigns* 54–55, and Tadmor, in AkINH 22–24 and n. 3.

[illegible] Prism I is suggested as a suitable replacement [illegible] Longratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Irub* 79–84, in *Assyria 1995*, 245–252, and RlA 9 3/4 296–63 [illegible]

structure and its associated festival dates to the reign of Sargon II (721–705) [8] both the temple and its celebratory procession probably existed long before Sargon II put on display the cultic and textual evidence. Although [illegible] the moon god Sîn have a long history with the former having been built in the mid-millennium and the latter at least to the reign of Zin[illegible] [illegible] known about temple building in this city. Construction [illegible] only referred to in two inscriptions of Assurbanipal.

Although this temple is mentioned in Assurbanipal's [illegible] display text 89–4–26,209[9] and ᶜE *a'-ki-tu* ᵈ30 *ša* URU.KASKAL appears in the subscript of Sm 671 (rev. 5'[10]), [illegible] have been learned from these two texts [illegible] having a festival-temple; this information is also known from two Neo-Assyrian letters (K 1234 and 81-7-27,30[11]). However, a vague boast about completely rebuilding this structure is known from the second summary report of Assurbanipal's activities at Harrān found in the prologue of the IIT.[12] The revelant passage read:

> IIT 64b) E *a-ki'-tu' mu (lab?) be-lu ti šu?) a-a-ap u-sak-lil* KU' BABBAR KU' [illegible]
>
> [illegible]

With regard to appurtenances of gold and silver, it is not [illegible]

8 SAA 1, 149 no. 188: 7–rev. 7. Nabû-pašir, an individual who appears to have been the [illegible] of *Arrapha* (?), the god Sîn ex[illegible]ted (his temple) and [illegible]ished his *akītu* house. The *niqu*-offe[illegible] (offered) on behalf of the king, my lord, were performed successfully. The god Sî[illegible]

9 Craig, ABRT 2 pls. 1–2, and Meek, JAOS 38 (1918) 168–169. The relevant [illegible] AN NAMES *la-bar u, me* SU DMES *a-na* DINGIR *ti-la* '*a*'[illegible] (text), "for her divinity, I made [illegible]

10 See [illegible] SAA [illegible] of [illegible] called [illegible]

11 For K 1234 (= SAA 1, 149 no. 188), see n. 8; 81-7-27,30 = SAA 10, 274 no. 338: 9–rev. 2 [illegible] 6'-II-10): "On the seventeenth day [illegible] ff (and) takes up residence in the [illegible] ver the *kuzippu*-garments, I put [illegible] he (the god Sîn) will bless the king (my lord) and provide the king, my, lord, with a ver[illegible] SAA [illegible] 6'-II-22.

12 The second summary report = IIT 60–69a (Fuchs, in BIWA 2'3[illegible]

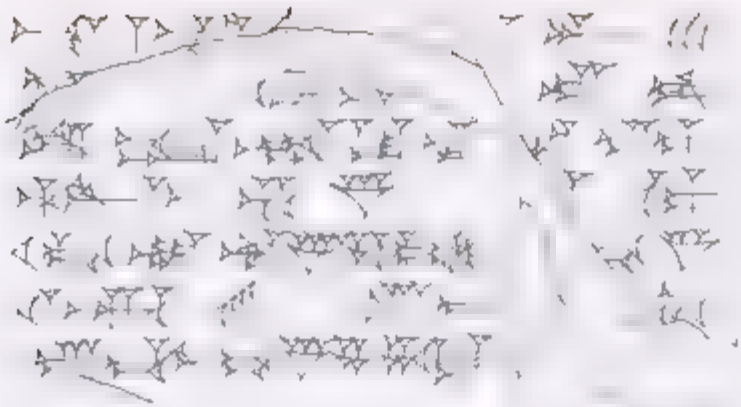
[illegible] was the reference to Assur[illegible] However, closer examination of K [illegible] reserved [illegible] passage [illegible] source.

K [illegible] K [illegible] K [illegible] K [illegible] K [illegible] 131 [illegible] lower part of [illegible] three [illegible] inscription which commemorates Assurban[illegible] campaign several of his wars against the Arabs, and the rebuilding of the [illegible] at Harran.[19] Although the tablet is not dated, the approximate date of com[illegible] that of Prism T but with at least one major omission, the canonical first summary report [illegible] he [illegible] accession [illegible] Nineveh [illegible] 14 [illegible]

Now [illegible] K [illegible] [illegible] Assur[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



For the most part, th[illegible]

1 [illegible] *ša₂ [illegible]* [illegible] both *é-bīt bīt* and E, the gap in question is 1.5 cm. [illegible] same signs in other tablets indicate [illegible] proposed restoration is 2.4 cm. [illegible] 6.71 rev. 5 is exactly 1.5 cm. The tight bit in v 14 [illegible]

Further evidence [illegible] have been mentioned in the ope[illegible] Assyrian inscriptions. Evidence stems from Prisms [illegible] Namas temple at Nineveh is refer[illegible] gods Sin, Nikkal, Samaš, and Ara[illegible] and in the latter [illegible] *bīt*, "the temple of the god Nabu."[illegible] Assurbanipal's colophons beginning with *mušarū ša*, "inscript[illegible]"

[illegible]

8 [illegible]

1 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

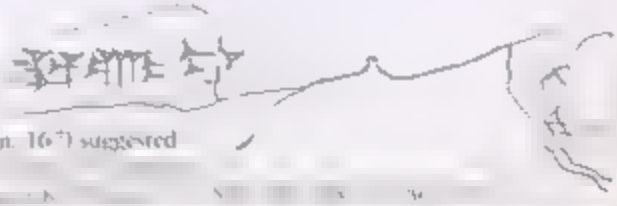
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of the *akitu*-house of the god Sin, (which is situated) inside the city Harran.[33] Furthermore, if v 14 and vi 10 are restored correctly, then K 2664+ reveals that Sin's akitu-house was situated [illegible] Harran, rather than on the outskirts, [illegible] previously thought.[34]

Lastly, with regard to the date of this project, if we accept the boast of *arsip*[illegible] [illegible] have begun as early as 647 and as late [illegible]

An [illegible] about Assurbanipal's b[illegible] Sin's *akitu* house. Although this seven-line [illegible] the physical structure of temple, it is, at present, the most comprehensive report of this [illegible] building. [illegible] known Assyrian building activities at Harran, which was captured and looted [illegible] Babylonian-Median coalition [illegible]



33 Compare Borger's (BIWA 172) reading of vi 10: MU SIAR-*u ila* [illegible]

34 Lewy (HUCA 19 (1945–46) 440 n. 167) suggested that the *bit-ili ša eriši*, "temple of [illegible] the city. Reade (RA 9, 419 §15.1) suggests that this temple was situated in the [illegible] not in the citadel (K [illegible] BIWA [illegible]

Bibliography

[illegible]

AWA [illegible]

[illegible]

AWA [illegible]

[illegible]

AWA [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

AfO Beih. 26 *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* (AfO Beiheft 26) Vienna 1997

[illegible]

House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia Winona Lake 1993

[illegible]

[illegible]

JUCA 19 "The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and Its Culmination at [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

JAOS 38 "A Votive Inscription of Ashurbanipal," JAOS 38 (1918), 167–175

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

CRRA 30 "The Royal Archives of Nineveh," in K.R. Veenhof (ed.) [illegible]

SAA [illegible]

SAA 10 *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* Helsinki 1993

[illegible]

Archives *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 BC* Bethesda [illegible]

Pongratz-Leisten, B
[illegible]
[illegible] Mai [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] 1995 [illegible] Helsinki [illegible]
KAJ [illegible]
Postgate, N
KUA [illegible]
Reade, J.E.
CRKA 30 [illegible]
RIA 9 [illegible]
Streck, M
VAB 7 [illegible]
Tadmor, H
Ak NH [illegible]

Ein spätaltbabylonischer Kaufvertrag aus Babylon

Rosel Pientka-Hinz — Marburg

Schon [illegible] Lesschrift, und daran anknüpfend [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ders ausführlichen Jahresdatenformel[illegible] versehen wurde.

[illegible] scher Zeit

[illegible] unterrugen konnte. Ich danke der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft für die großzügige Unterstützung sowie den Trustees des British Museum für die Publikationserlaubnis [illegible] persönlicher Durchsicht des Manuskripts [illegible]

2 BM 79643: 9,7+ cm hoch, 8,7 cm breit, 4,4 cm dick; BM 67323: 6,3+ cm hoch, 8,5 cm breit, [illegible] cm dick.

3 Zur Fundlage altbabylonischer Texte aus Babylon s. Pientka 1998, [illegible]

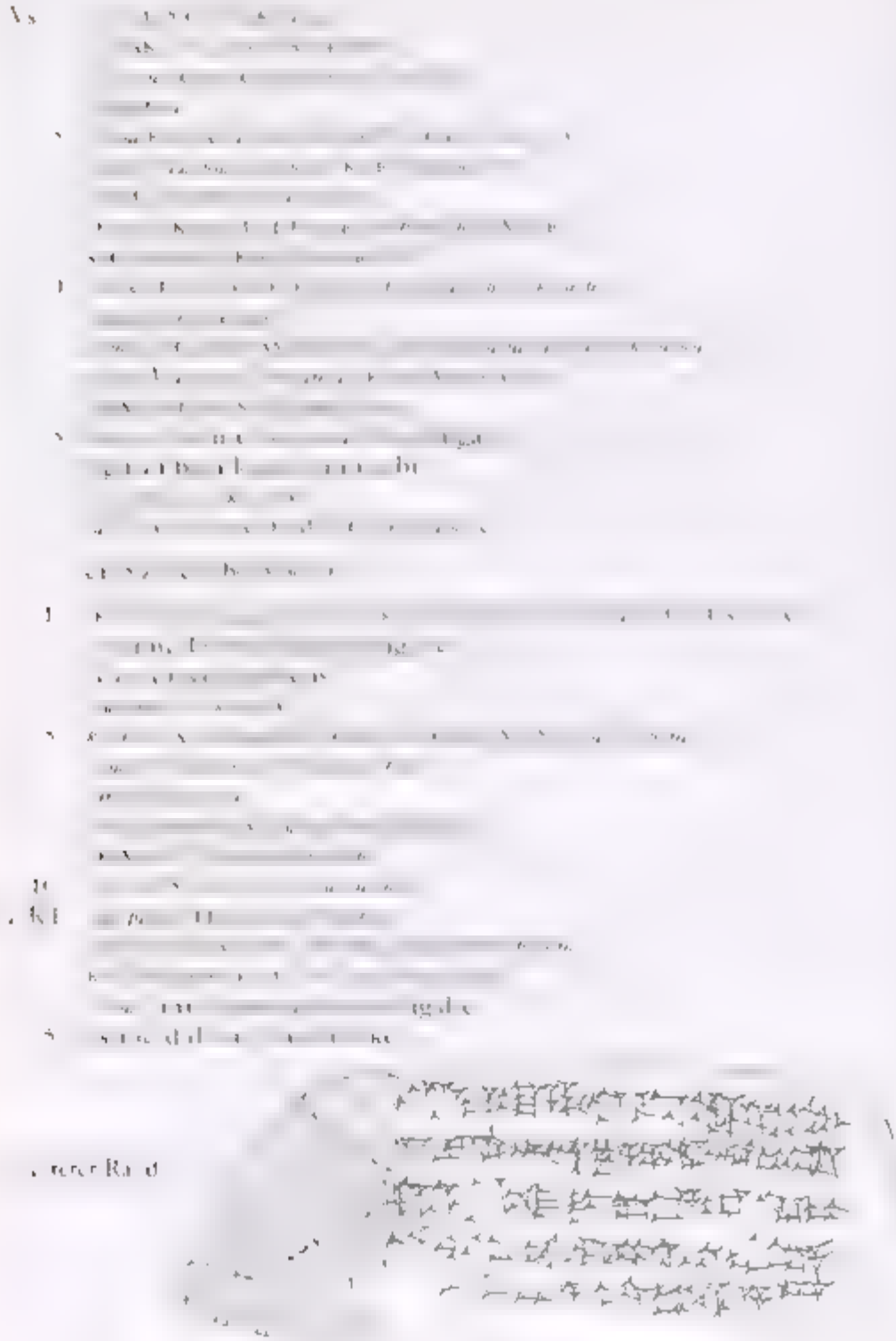
4 S. Wicke 1982, Charpin 1986 und dazu wieder Wicke 1990, 304f.; Van Lerberghe—[illegible] [illegible]

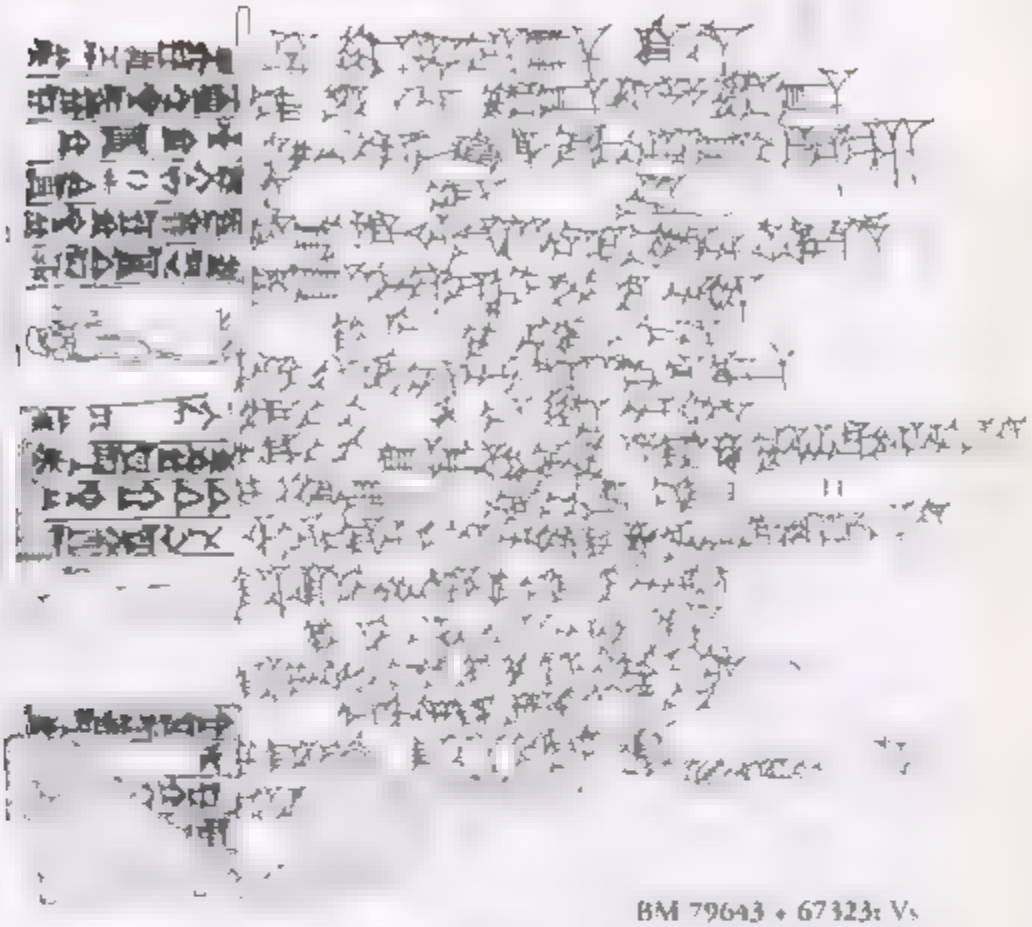
5 [illegible] 79643 s. Leichty—Finkelstein—Walker 1988, xxi bzw. im Register mit Herkunftsangabe aus [illegible] Urkunde aufgrund inhaltlicher Kriterien eindeutig nach Babylon verweisen.

6 [illegible] Pientka 1998, 24f.

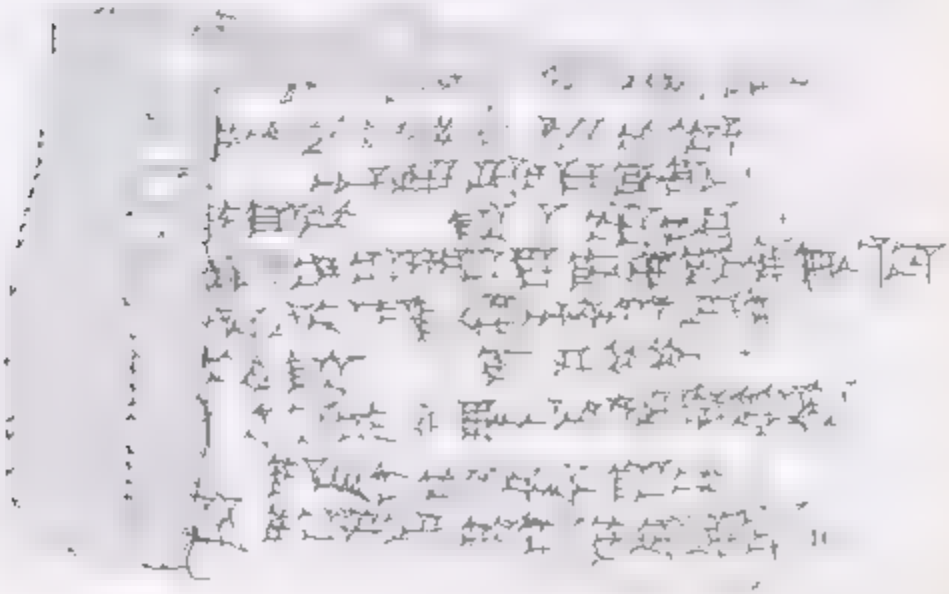
[illegible] dere die Rückseite von BM 67323 ist wegen einiger verdrückter Zeichen sehr schwe[illegible]

BM 79643 + 67323 (16+ cm hoch, 8,7 cm breit, 4,4 cm dick

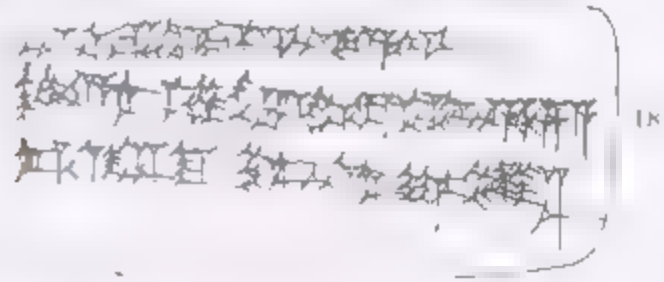


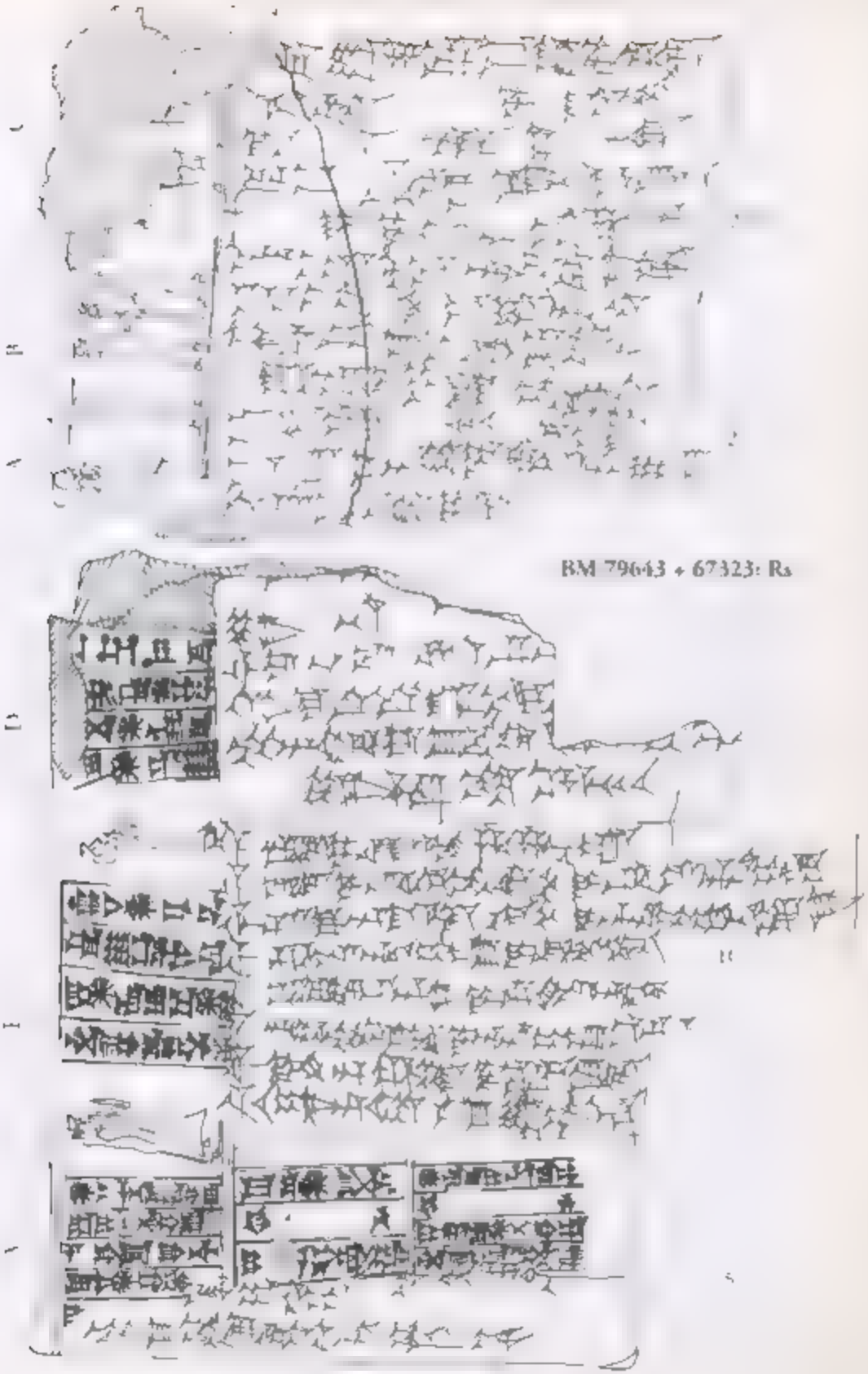


BM 79643 + 67323: Vs



[illegible]





BM 79643 + 67323: Ra

Siegel A

[illegible]

Siegel B

[illegible]

Siegel C

[illegible]
di-ku
[illegible]

Siegel D [illegible]

Siegel E [illegible]

Siegel F [illegible]

Siegel G [illegible]

Siegel H

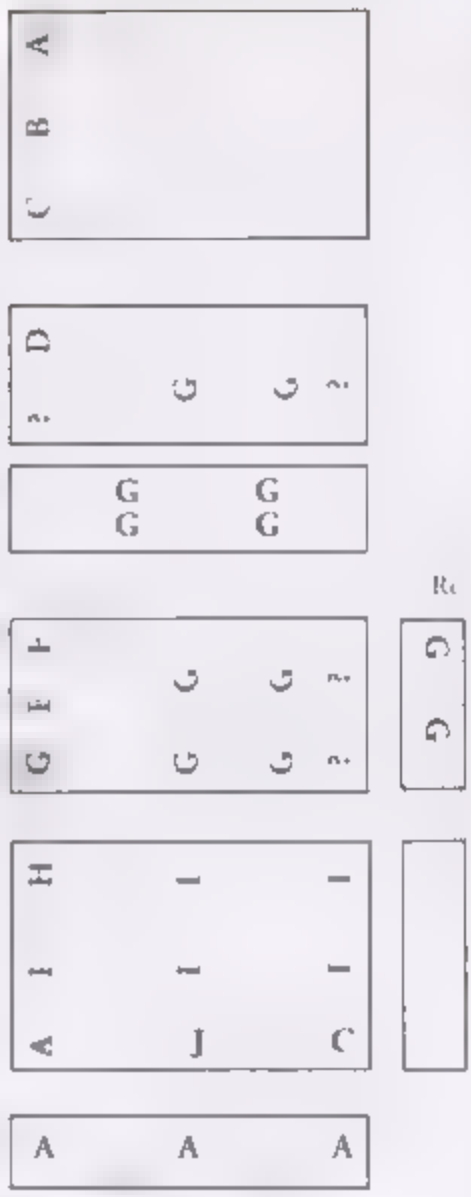
[illegible]

Siegel I

[illegible]
dub-sar lugal-la
[illegible]

Siegel J

[illegible]
di-ku
[illegible]



Übersetzung

1 [illegible] SAR 5 GIN unbebautes Grundstück
2 Rest von 1½ SAR Grundstück inmitten von einem 4 SAR (großen) Grundstück
3 [illegible] Zahl der
Hacke
4 registriert worden war
5 beim Stadttor der Ištar in der [illegible] Neustadt
6 neben dem Haus der Lamassi [illegible] Priesterin des Marduk
Tochter des Irūr-asdu
8 neben (dem Haus des) Ilšu-ib[illegible]šu, des Herolds(?), auf der zweiten Seite
9 dessen Vorderseite die Straße des Marduk-Gartens,
10 dessen Rückseite die Vorratsstraße des Hadanšu-Iksud (bildet),
11 (dies sind die alten Nachbarn)
12 [illegible] das Kaufobjekt [illegible] Gimil-Marduk, Sohn des [illegible]
Ilšu-ib
13 der (es) von Munawwirtum, der *nadītum*-Priesterin des Marduk,
14 Tochter des Gimil-Ērra
15 16 im 19. Regierungsjahr des Samsuiluna
17 gekauft hat – (vermerkt) auf 1 gesiegelten Tafel
18 das [illegible]
[illegible] 3 Zeilen [illegible]
1 (vom?) Lamassani(?), der *nadītum*-Priesterin des Marduk, Tochter des Ilu-[illegible]
2' 3' im 27. Regierungsjahr des Ammiditana
4' gekauft hat – (vermerkt) auf 1 gesiegelten Tafel
5' weil(?) x-gatzada weder Sohn noch Tochter bekommen hat[illegible]
6' Urlatum und Nanaja ihr
ihren Brüdern (es) hinterlassen hat
8' haben Urlatum und Nanaja ihm, ihre Brüder
9' die Kinder von Ilī-awīlim-[illegible]
10' ⅔ SAR 5 GIN Hausgrundstück jeweils aufgeteilt und
11' Urkunden über die Anteile ausstellen lassen
12' (das Grundstück) das Ibni-Marduk, Sohn des Awīl-Nanaja,
13' von Urlatum, Sohn des Ilī-awīlim-rabi
14' 15' im 7. Regierungsjahr des Samsuditana
16' (nämlich) ⅔ SAR 5 GIN Hausgrundstück, das man geteilt hatte
17' für Silber gekauft hat
18' – (vermerkt) auf 1 gesiegelten Tafel
19 (das Grundstück) neben dem Haus des Sularu [illegible]
20' Sohn des Ibbi-Sahan
21 [illegible] des [illegible] Sohnes
22' dessen Vorderseite die Straße des Marduk-Gartens
23 dessen Rückseite die Vorratsstraße
24' des Sîn-iqīšam, des Schreibers(?), (bildet)

25 [illegible] des Nabû-[illegible]

26 [illegible] des Iddin-Marduk, Sohn des Ana-Nabû-[illegible]
27 [illegible] des Ana-Nabû-[illegible]

[illegible] Zeugenreihe

PN [illegible] gesandt. Wenn man [illegible] Kaufpreis hat er [illegible] bei Marduk-[illegible] Sohn [illegible]
1 [illegible]
3 [illegible] Sohn des [illegible]
4 Zusammengestellt [illegible] des Königs [illegible]
5 [illegible] Marduk und dem König Šamšu-[illegible]
6 [illegible]

Vor Šamšu-[illegible] dem Bürgermeister
8 vor Šamšu-[illegible] dem Kaufmann, Sohn des Nabû-[illegible]
9 vor Ina-[illegible] dem Kaufmann, Sohn des Nabû-[illegible]
10 vor Nabû-[illegible] Sohn des Šamšu-[illegible]
11 vor Šamšu-[illegible] Sohn des [illegible]-Marduk
12 vor Marduk-[illegible] Sohn des Nabû-[illegible]
13 vor Iddin-[illegible] Sohn des Kurasu
14 vor Šulu-Marduk, dem Sohn des Königs

15 10 Minen 20 Lot
16 [illegible] Regierungsjahr des Nabû-[illegible]

Siegel A (2.8 × 2.4 cm)
1 Marduk-[illegible]
2 der [illegible]
3 der [illegible]
4 Ina-Marduk-[illegible]
5 der [illegible]
6 den Toren(?) zum Leben [illegible]

Siegel B (2.4 × 3.1 cm)
1 Šulu-[illegible]
2 Sohn des Gimil-Marduk
3 [illegible]
4 und Amurru

Siegel C (2.8 × 2.4 cm)
1 Sin-iqišam,
2 Sohn des Nabû-li[šu],
3 Diener des Šamšu-ta-nal

Siegel D (2.4 × 3.1 cm)
1 Šulu-Marduk,
2 Schreiber des Königs,
3 Sohn des Šamšu-[illegible]
4 Diener des Šamšu-[illegible]

Siegel E (2.8 × 2.4 cm)
1 Sin-[illegible]ribam,
2 der Richter,
3 Sohn des Ana-[illegible]
4 Diener des Šamšu-[illegible]

Siegel F (2.4 × 3.1 cm)
1 Iqqu-Sa-[illegible]
2 der Richter,
3 Sohn des Nabû-[illegible]
4 [illegible]

Kommentar

1 Kaufgegenstand [illegible]

3 [illegible]

Sippar als auch aus Babylon. S. BE 6/1 95: 1 (As 13, Sippar); 2 SAR E *ši-in-ni* ŠÀ.AL (MHET I 2 56: 1 (Ad 14, Sippar); ½ SAR E *ši-in-ni* ŠÀ.AL *la ru-ug-ši-bu um*[illegible] VS 22 6: 1 (Ad 23, Babylon [illegible]

4 [illegible]

Van Lerberghe–Voet, NA2R 6 8: 30f. (Ad [illegible] Tell ed Der); *ú 1 tup-pi um-ma-tum la-bi-ra-am* [illegible] del [illegible]

[illegible] Wortlaut der alten Mardukurkunde [illegible]

5 [illegible] Pienka 1998, 304 [illegible]

[illegible] und der Straße des Marduk-Gartens bei [illegible]

[illegible] Zum Marduk-Tempel Esagil s. George 1993, 1391–94.

6 [illegible] eventuell aus Sippar stammende Auflistung von Immobilien [illegible]

Grenzveränderungen werden auch in der Gerichtsurkunde aus Grundstücksstreit YOS 13 96 [illegible]

7 Die Lesung des Personennamens ist schwierig, vgl. CDA 169 *kurallum, kurullum* [illegible] so, als ein ornament.

8 Zu distributiven Maßangaben in den spätabbabylonischen Urkunden s. Pienka 1998, 154ff.

9 Die Lesung des Personennamens samt Berufsbezeichnung fällt aufgrund der zerdrückten Zeichen schwer. Ein Šubarû ist zudem belegt in: MHET I 43: 25 (undat., As. Tell ed Der) [illegible] 84, III 4 (undat., ca. As 17+a, El [illegible]

8 S. Wilcke 1987, 81[24]: „... it describes a house sold and could refer to [illegible] its location, its state of preservation or something [illegible]"

9 S. Charpin 1986, 120.

9 S. Wilcke 1982, 436, and Charpin 1986, 126ff.

9 [illegible] storage chamber". Danach könnte es sich in altbabylonischer Zeit um ein privates oder öffentliches Gebäude bzw. Teil des Tempelkom[illegible]

13 S. Pienka 1998, 507–630.

13 S. Charpin 1986, 136ff.; ders. 1986c, 407f.; Finkelstein 1972, 14; Wilcke 1982, 4[illegible]

14 [illegible]

[illegible]

14 Daß ein Schreiber des Königs in den spätaltbabylonischen Urk[illegible] [illegible]lesen werden konnte, ist aufgrund der Fundlage nicht verwunderlich [illegible] [illegible]altbabylonischen Babylontexte doch aus [illegible]

1[illegible] [illegible] Pientka 1998 [illegible]

Siegel A

Das aufwendig gestaltete Siegel des in Z. 12 und 26 f. genann[illegible] als eine wichtige Persönlichkeit. Zum einen hat die sichere [illegible] Abrollen des Siegels einen tiefen Abdruck hinterlassen. Zum a[illegible] Haltigung bzw. ein Gebet an Marduk. Dieses ist in der [illegible] lonischer Zeit selten belegten akkadischen Sprache abgefaß[illegible]

Die letzten Zeilen der Inschrift [illegible]

[illegible]

der die Hand des Gefallenen erfasst, den Gebundenen löst, den [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] interpretieren läßt: „Marduk [illegible] im Kampf" [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Gebeten ausgedrückte Bitte um Leben nichts Ungewöhn[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Am Ende des Siegelbandes, [illegible]

[illegible] S. Pi[illegible] [illegible] 985, 275

[illegible] Z[illegible]

[illegible] Vgl. auch a.a.O. 400ff. [illegible] ᵈAMAR.UTU *r[e-me-nu-ú] mu-bal-liṭ* [illegible] „Barmherziger Marduk[,] der den Toten belebt" [illegible] Sommerfeld 1982, 150 [illegible]

22 S. CAD Q 12 *qablu* B [illegible]

23 [illegible]

24 S. Mayer 1976, 280ff. [illegible] um Leben/Gesundheit [illegible]

25 S. Wucke 1982, S. [illegible]

[illegible] nirgends mit einer Beschreibung versehen ist, [illegible] es sich um das Kaufsiegel handelt. Es [illegible] Siegel [illegible] Zeugen eingeprägt. Sie finden sich [illegible] aus dem [illegible] auf der Vorderseite der Urkunde sowie dem [illegible] Kaufsiegel.

[illegible] das Siegel des Verkäufers (A) — sowie [illegible] das Siegel des Käufers (B) — sind erst nach der Beschriftung angebracht worden. [illegible] Verkäufer / [illegible] Käufer / [illegible] anderen Siegel [illegible] Beschriftung [illegible] Siegelpaar [illegible] Verkäufer [illegible] Käufer [illegible] Siegel [illegible] Verkäufer [illegible] Käufer [illegible] Beschriftung [illegible] Verkäufer [illegible] Kaufsiegel [illegible]

[illegible] Siegel des Käufers [illegible]

LITERATUR

Die verwendeten [illegible] Zeitschriften und Monographien [illegible] New York [illegible] Wiesbaden [illegible] IX XVI

Zusätzliche Abkürzungen und

CDA J. Black—A.R. George—N. Postgate (Hrsg.) *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. [illegible] Wiesbaden [illegible]

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MHET 2 L. Dekiere, *Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents from Sippar in the* [illegible] Series III, Texts II). Gent [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible] *[illegible] Babylonien [illegible]*

[illegible]

[illegible] *[illegible]*

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

Describing the Body of a God*

Frances N. Reynolds — London

[illegible]

[illegible] (BM 55551+), a six-column tablet in the "Sippar Collection" [illegible] Museum. [illegible] that syntactical pattern from 5′ onwards. This consists of a sequence of short [illegible] sentences, each with a body part as the subject. One body part in 13′ is described by a rel[illegible] milk and *pēnlu ša kupri*, "his groin is bitumen" (21′). Al[illegible]

Note: [illegible] following abbreviations in addition to CAD: AHw and HKL: Bock, *Morphoskopie* [illegible] P.D. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (AOAT [illegible]

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] armpit (*uḫatu*), forearms (*amnatu*), fingers (*ubanatu*), chest (*irtu*), breast [illegible] lower leg [illegible] Unlike [illegible] descriptions of a god's body are not organised according to this principle [illegible] an earlier composition where the god's body was more [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] le items in the complements in BM 55551+ [illegible] v can be categor[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
Mammals	*mēru*(anše)	*ḫanū*(zu)[md]	donkey	teeth
	[illegible] munus.anše)	*sapta*(šumduh)[mo]	donkey mare	lips
	[illegible] gu) du[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
	[illegible]		[illegible]	
Birds	[illegible]		[illegible]	
	[illegible]		[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Insects	*burbillatu*	*qaqaddu*(sag.du)	*burbillatu*-insect	head
Fish	*qirītu*	[illegible]	eel, like fis[illegible]	
Reptiles	*sēru*(muš)	*lišānu*(eme)	snake	tongue
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Body part	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]	

[illegible]

Plants	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Minerals	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	lower leg
Wool textile	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Containers	[illegible]		[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Instruments	[illegible]		[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] compared to a st[illegible]

BM 55551 [illegible]		[illegible]
Categories	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mammals	[illegible]	[illegible]
Birds	[illegible]	[illegible]
Insects		[illegible]
Fish		[illegible]
Reptiles	[illegible]	[illegible]
Humans		[illegible]
Body parts		[illegible]
		[illegible]
Plants, foods		[illegible]
Minerals		[illegible]
Instruments		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]

In these [illegible] the donkey [illegible] 55551 [illegible]

6 For a summa[illegible] exact param[illegible] iels see Böck [illegible]

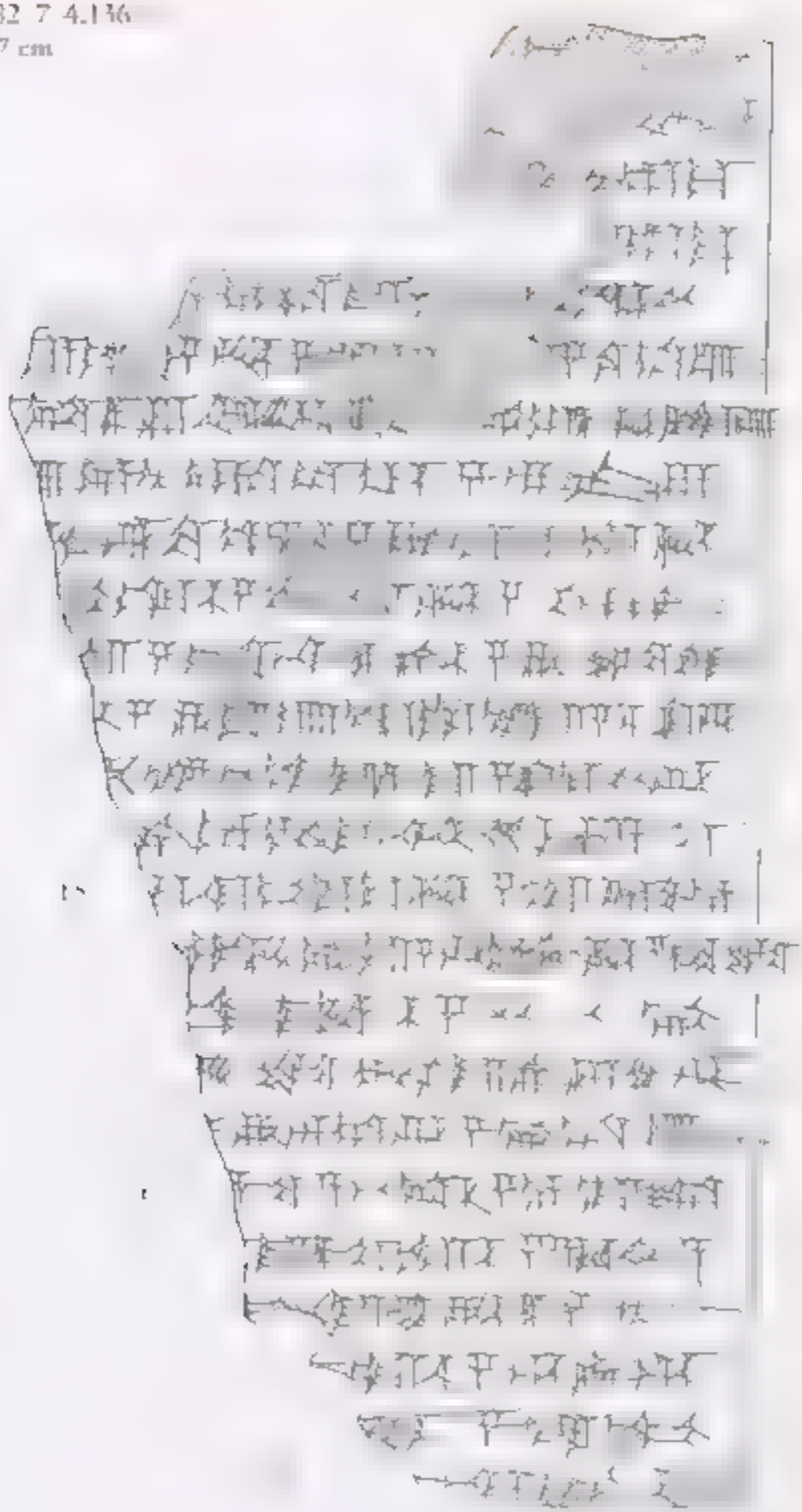
8 *E.g.* Böck [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

BM 55551 (82-7-4,136)
10.1×5.8×4.7 cm



[illegible]

(Col. I) One line Ur

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible] *[illegible]*

4 [illegible]

5 [illegible] *[illegible]*

6 [illegible]

7 [illegible] x x KI x *a [illegible] a-ap-pa*[mes] *-šu pe-tu-u*

8 [illegible] du(l) *ap-pa-šu sa ak-kul šu*

9 [illegible] *id* [ši *meru*(a nše) 'rebu(sag) *id* (col

[illegible]

10 [illegible] muš *sapta*(nundum)[bis] *su šu ašānu*(munus.anše

11 [illegible]

12 [illegible]

13 [illegible]

14 [illegible] *d* ugu du[l b[illegible]

15 x x x x *šu ša sabatu*(maš da [illegible] *a*(gaba)-*su šu sapatu*(sig) *tulatu*(abur[illegible]

[illegible]

17 [illegible] *sabatu*(murub [illegible]

18 [illegible] b du [illegible] ub Hu

19 [illegible]

20 [illegible]

21 [illegible]

22 [illegible]

23 [illegible]

24 [illegible]

25 [illegible] K [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible]

[illegible]

3 [illegible]

Translation

4 [illegible]

5 His head is a *burbulatu*-insect's

His [illegible] is/are [illegible] ... [...] The sides(?) of his neck(?) are of ... His(?) [...] ... is of an ow[illegible]

His [illegible]

8 His [illegible]

9 His [illegible] is/are of) an eel-like fish. His teeth are a donkey's. The top(?) of his teeth [illegible]

10 [illegible] His [illegible] snake. His lips are a donkey mare's

11 His [illegible]

12 His [illegible] *bāzu*-bird's. His stomach is a waterskin [illegible]

13 [illegible] owl. His [illegible]

14 His [illegible]

15 [illegible] His [illegible]

16 His [illegible] are of(?) gazelles. His chest is wool. His breasts are a young man's

17 *His* [illegible] *are of* [illegible] His waist is oil and m[illegible]

18 *His* [illegible] *are of* [illegible] Is. H[illegible]

19 His ... is] an owl's spu[illegible]

20 *H*[illegible] His [illegible]

21 His [illegible] is/are] a *subattu*-garment. His grou[illegible]

22 [illegible] His [illegible]

23 *His* [illegible] *is/are of* [illegible] His lower [illegible]

24 *his* [illegible] *is/are of* [illegible] His [illegible] are a [illegible]

25 His foot is [illegible]

[illegible] Saying. Lamer X a section on the neck ine[illegible]

[illegible] bly [illegible] (?) An unknown body-part is equated with an owl's spur in 19. In [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of Nippur (Livingstone, MMEW, 178, 57 (composite edition); Living[illegible]
[illegible] *šumma izbu* Tablet VIII

10 *šumma* (diš) min-*ma* [illegible]-*ga*-*ba*-*a*[illegible] *ṣaḫ*[illegible]

10 If ditto and the chest is broad, he has a gazelle's nostril; he will [illegible]

Birth defects in *Šumma izbu* Tablets V and XII include a head and [illegible] sag du[illegible] *sibat*[illegible] mas dà[illegible] Leichter *Izbu*, 77, 48; von W[illegible] Tablet XXIV (Ha[illegible]

[illegible] represents both *šārtu*, "hair," and *ṣemu*, "wool," but the latter fits this context and the pairing refers to chest hair. In a related description of a god thornbush (*ḫ*[illegible] *šulṭu* (diš) is said to [illegible]

1 His *qablu* literally "middle," as oil and milk which may refer to [illegible] and honey (*šamnu*) *dispu* (lal) in a ritual are said to represent [illegible] sons in an explanatory text based on a cultic calendar (LK[illegible]
A description of Anzu's body in [illegible]

60 *dispu*(lal) *šaman*(i.giš) *ḫa* — Hon[illegible]
61 ḪUL *šaman*(i.giš) *ḫa* — "Bad [illegible]

[illegible] MMEW, 178, 50–61; [illegible]

Labat, TDP, 136: n. 50

50 If his arm [illegible] *šaḫuqa*, means a milky fluid in the gall bladder and the liver (e.g. CAD Ṣ [illegible]

[illegible] earthly location of a [illegible] resulted in by-names of the city such as Ḫur anki, *mari* [illegible] underworld" (George, *Topographica* [illegible]
The Sumerian composition known a[illegible] [illegible] ka bulu[illegible]

[illegible]

6 *ḫa-ḫa-um*[illegible] *ḫa-a-a-um* — YOS 10, 54, 14–[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] flesh [illegible] as black as bur bur [illegible] was as black as crud [illegible]

xamples see YOS 10 12 = Leichty *Izbu* 207 1–2 RAcc, 3 and 10 [illegible]

52 In this context *sasha* is a form of *sahha*, a body part translated as "buttocks" (CAD S [illegible]

[illegible] bull *sasha* [illegible] bad [illegible]

[illegible] bu[illegible]

for d[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ewe Should Be So Lucky:

Extispicy Reports and Everyday Life*

Seth Richardson — New York

Reading divine communications [illegible]

Text 1 (BM 97919, 1902-10-11,97[illegible]) is a fragment which has unfortunately lost its [illegible] and closing statements (including the name of the client),[illegible] as well as virtual [illegible]

* The texts here are published by the kind permission of the Trustees of the [illegible] Antiquities (now Ancient Near East). It is thus a happy pleasure to acknowledge [illegible]

[illegible] Temple (1982): 19: "I have been fortunate to know the owner of a small pr[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] collection, No. 487), dated As 13 [illegible]

[illegible] within the 1902-10-11 collection [illegible] clients [illegible] in particular was kept here (and per[illegible]

[illegible] 15: 16) is likely none other than one of the sons of a Sutaean family living in Sippar [illegible]

[illegible]

clear interpretation [illegible] report among [illegible] Galdanu [illegible] which he appear[illegible] than creditor.[illegible] Aku's activities, meantime, are restricted to [illegible]

In BM 26412 (As 10.12/08) Galdanu borrows silver from Ur-ul Istar, the famou[illegible]

[illegible] dub.'ba-a[illegible] / [illegible] ne-ne-gar [illegible] kam / (u.e.) mu *am-mi-*[illegible] *-od* [illegible]

[illegible] extispicy and extispicy were considered to intersect. Goetze (1957): 94f., has noted that [illegible] [illegible] which specifies the month of performance; 30 a report which specifies [illegible] reading for a man's boat journey to Emar, which we are safe to assume would ha[illegible] *-ntum* (m.) [illegible] tion from some independe[illegible] was the son of Ibni-Sama[illegible]

25 Many of the names here seem to be of Amorite derivation (*e.g.* mu.*ta-di-da-tum*, mu[illegible]

daughter Sa-ilatum: *qa-ti šuku-ši* [illegible] document [illegible] and [illegible] of the document is unmistakable: Galdanu's daughter [illegible] powerful [illegible] [illegible] defected from the practice of divination.[28]

[illegible] almost certainly comes from the neighborhood of Babylon and, with the exception of one [illegible] three known [illegible] Nabû-[illegible] [illegible] of the presence of [illegible] few [illegible] typical readings.[29] Of these, however, [illegible] provides the name of the client, one Eribam-Nannaja, and can thus be con[illegible] before [illegible] Babylon [illegible] ingir.ra[ki] *(ilku)* and disbursed to recipients by (gir) three men – and [illegible] Nab[illegible] [illegible] gir[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] seem to suggest together [illegible] ide of Babylon proper wen [illegible] northern Babylonia in the late Old Babylonian period

31 These include VS 22 35 (Sd 25/10/16); 39 (Sd 25/10/15); and 40 (Sd 25/09) [illegible] which is dated Sa 26, and features Lipit Istar as creditor (the principal in VS 22 35 3 [illegible] lacks a statement regarding the [illegible]

[illegible] that VS 22 35 39–40 are dated within no more than six weeks of each other and toget [illegible]

[illegible]

Nº 1: BM 97919 [illegible]

[illegible]

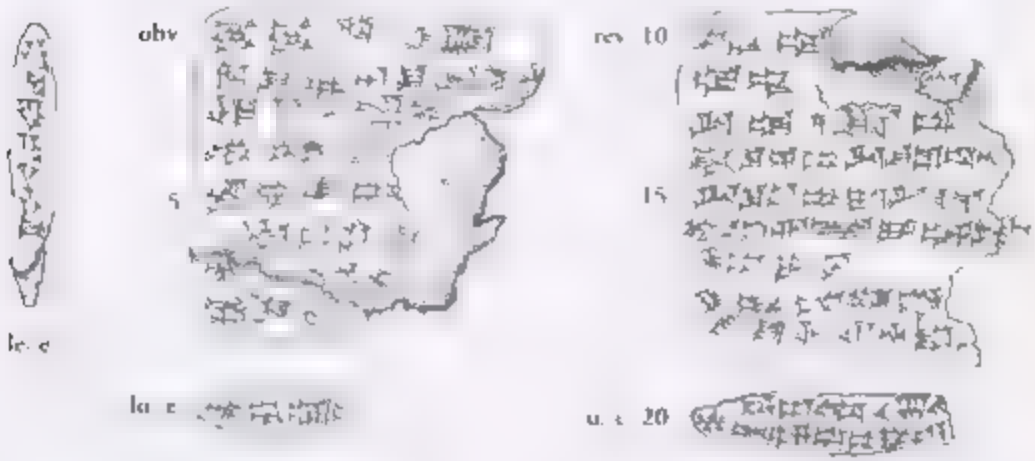
obv. 1 

rev. 

[illegible]

Nº 2: BM 97433 (1902-10-11,487) 41×43×17 mm As 13/10.

[illegible]



[illegible]

zag šu sí dub gub šu sí [illegible]

gub šu sí dub *x-'na* gub šu sí [illegible]

[illegible]

5 This fragmentary line is extremely hard to read, especially as it comes at the end of th[illegible]

8 [illegible] "tale" or Goetze (1957) No. 6: 17, 63 *ta-bu-ru* "the heart was sound." See also Text [illegible]

[illegible]

№ 3: BM 26594 (98-5-14,412) 42×45×20 mm As 11/05.10

[illegible] reproduced [illegible]

obv

5

10

rev

15

20

[illegible]

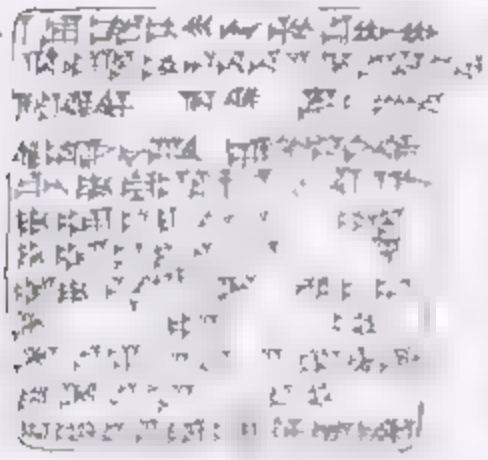
[illegible]

[illegible]

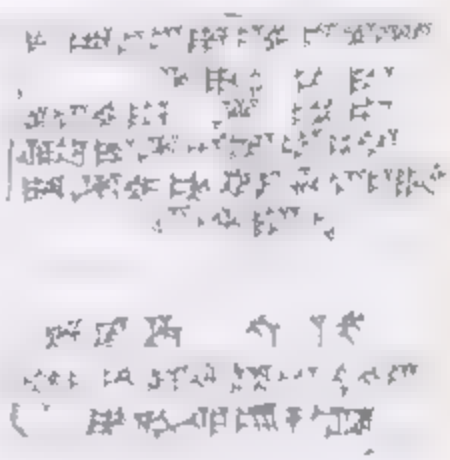
Nº 4. BM 130838 (1950-[illegible]-22.5) 52×56×19 mm Sd 26/0[illegible]/0[illegible]

[illegible]

obv.



rev.



[illegible]	1 udu *ne-pe-el-ti* maš 'šu gid.gid'	One sheep for the ritual of the d[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] nu zi kal 'x x *ni-di*'	It had a station. No *peg*. The Strenga[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] 'gal x' silim tuk'	The right Quarter of the Palace Gate. It had [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Pientka, Rose

[illegible] Neukirchen

Guaranteed Genuine Originals:

The Plimpton Collection and the Early History of Mathematical Assyriology

Eleanor Robson — Oxford

Foreign

It may seem odd to offer Christopher Walker a paper with no British Museum tablets in it [illegible] work on myself included (Robson 1997–1999). So in order to avoid presenting him with [illegible] formation of the small collection which contains Plimpton 322, the most famous mathematical cuneiform tablet in the world (also not in the British Museum but now held by Columbia University, New York), I am not only to explore how the [illegible] but also to examine attitudes to private collecting amongst [illegible] um professionals, and to reveal a little of the impact the [illegible] cuneiform tablets made on the field of history of mathematics be[illegible] The article ends with an appendix listing the cuneiform [illegible]

[illegible]

It is a particular pleasure to thank Jane Rodgers Siegel and her colleagues [illegible] and Manuscript Library of Columbia University, for generous and frank [illegible] I am also very grateful to Pat Alaire, Zainab Bahrani, Rob Br[illegible] Marc Van De Mieroop. At the Philadelphia end I am in[illegible] Lutsey, Nick Veldhuis, Alice Wells, and the usual tablet room suspects. [illegible]

[illegible] and mostly remarkably acute [illegible] 1906: no. 2). It was the first time that Babylonian mathematics had [illegible]

[illegible] German by birth and like many of his generation had [illegible] Delitzsch in Leipzig, coming to the United States in 1886 (Foster, 1999b). [illegible] the University of Pennsylvania he was [illegible] the local candidate Morris Jastrow [illegible] affiliated first Babylonian [illegible] Sheet [illegible] Santa Cruz [illegible]

[illegible] and publication, and the appoint[illegible] Albert Tobias Clay [illegible] papers' and attracted the atten[illegible] internal involvement in the [illegible] His own substantial contribution wa[illegible] (Hilprecht 1904). He [illegible] Museum [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] New [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] postscript more forceful

> [illegible]
> I have a library of perhaps 30 [illegible]
> [illegible]
> (AH)

[illegible] David Eugene Smith (1860–1944) was sparked by a shared interest in books and collect[illegible] Teachers College of Columbia University in 1901 (Donoghue 1998: 36) [illegible] for training secondary school mathematics teachers in the United States [illegible] with Smith's astute recommendations "always balancing rarity and [illegible]

[illegible] was preliminary sorting [illegible] columns of up to 35 lines each, consisting entirely in a vertical wedge for [illegible]

[illegible] was a natural [illegible] the [illegible] as he [illegible] scale

[illegible] however [illegible] body who sells the kind of [illegible] Hilprecht was perhaps less attractive [illegible] for by this time he was caught in a [illegible] American academe, and which [illegible] This much-analysed furore (e.g. [illegible] 10) had arisen over Hilprecht's [illegible] points. Worse, it had also led [illegible] he book, such as that of the multipl[illegible] from the putative temple library while the [illegible] le of the site as in the case of [illegible] dad (Peters 1905 154). Further, [illegible] ibrary as he had not been a[illegible]

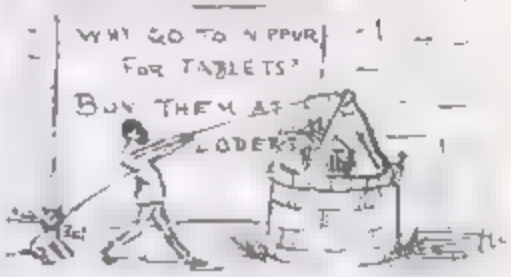
[illegible]

[illegible] and Hilprecht's

[illegible]

MR J LEFFRING JOKES

Ding-dong bell!
Hilprecht in the well
"Isn't it a sin"
Peters put him in
"Who pulled him out"
"Jones – by the snout
What a naughty, naughty plan
To drown this nice, honest man –
Who never left his native shore
But bought his tablets at the store"



[The above gives a general idea of the dinner card which was very large & finished in color]

Figure 2. Anonymous sketch of a dinner card. Philadelphia c. 1905–08. HSH

[illegible] served by one Constantine C. A. Loder in the fashionable Adine Hotel at 1941 Chestnut Street (Boyd's 1910: 1202). A pun on "tablets" of the medical and cuneiform varieties was clearly intended.

[illegible] diners and attendees of the anti-Hilprecht dinner [illegible] through Morris Jastrow. [illegible] Hilprecht [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] contributing to all other [illegible]

[illegible] that the sexagesimal place [illegible] integers (Hilprecht 1906: 18–19) [illegible] Hilprecht [illegible] understanding of their construction [illegible] He had [illegible] the head numbers from the [illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] that has been copied on the right by a student. The reverse contains multiple columns of [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible] a trapezoid is equal to one [illegible] product of its base and altitude; (6) the volume of a cube is equal to the cube of its [illegible] that the circumference of a circles bears a constant ratio to its diameter, and (2) [illegible]

[illegible] 1999) but Hilprecht's conclusions have otherwise stood the test of [illegible]

[illegible] logy at Columbia University

> [illegible] objects that have to do with the teaching of arithmetic. Now, you are wandering around

---

[illegible] rev. 'combined' multiplication tables; no. 24 = CBS 11097: obv. [illegible] obv. Proto-Ea 177–85 (Civil 1979: 23 Source Ew), rev. table of capacities, no. 58 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] perhaps through Smith's Columbia connections. Undaunted, though still appar[illegible] farther afield to London, on 3 January 1907 he wrote to Theophilus Pinches, formerly [illegible] Museum, who was then building up the private collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney (b. [illegible]

[illegible] in the History [illegible]

[illegible] thanking Plimpton for the pamphlet and explan[illegible]

[illegible] in the instruction of [illegible] portation of antiquities. [illegible] fortunate enough to [illegible] that time I will [illegible]

[illegible]

The difficulty as Pinches saw it, was not ethical but practical: the antiquities laws did not [illegible] passage.

[illegible] Morgan's private collection [illegible]

should be very grateful to you, if you will put me on the track of some of those tablet [illegible]

[illegible] February Plimpton thanked him fo[illegible]

I got from Professor Hilprecht a copy of one of the tablets on the multiplication table. It [illegible]

Was that a threat or a prom[illegible]

Hilprecht's letter to Plimpton survives at Columbia, dated 21 Febr[illegible]

Enclosed please find the bill at 50.42 for the cast of multiplication table from the Temple Library of Nippur (the original of which is in the Museum of the University of Penn[illegible] [13] [illegible]

[illegible] at present I do not see how it is possible to promote an original study [illegible]

I thank you very much for the pamphlet on Landmarks in the History of Fre[illegible]

[illegible] dence, for the pamphlet was publishe[illegible]

[illegible] the dealers were not knowledgeable enough to identify particular genres amongst their [illegible] rchae[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] copied by hand on the 14th [illegible]

[illegible]

[13] The tablet is CBS 10221 (Hilprecht 1906: no. 8). The final line of the table is a learn[illegible] for the correct 18×50 = 15 00 (*i.e.*, 9[illegible]

[14] Kittredge 1906 again

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] would only be fully solved decades later with the benefit of further exen[illegible] with a discussion of fractions, as attested on the 'division tables'. He was, he told Huprecht, "particularly interested in cylinders 22 and 25" [Figure 3; Figure [illegible]

> As you, we I know the Egyptians and early Greeks and many other ancient peoples deal only with unit fractions or almost which is so. In the ca[illegible] they had only one symbol for fractions save the unit fraction. Th[illegible] and was for two thirds. *Egyptian symbol*. I am therefore wondern[illegible] of Egypt and that of Babylon to make a custom of this kind in one count[illegible] what known in the other. It would therefore look very much as if the unit scheme of fra[illegible]

Such [illegible] (e.g. Neugebauer and Sachs 1945: 12). However, there is no evidence for a common source fo[illegible] egyptian and Babylonian unit fra[illegible]

[illegible] Smith argues that the mystery left-hand number in entries such as

2 05 12

28 48

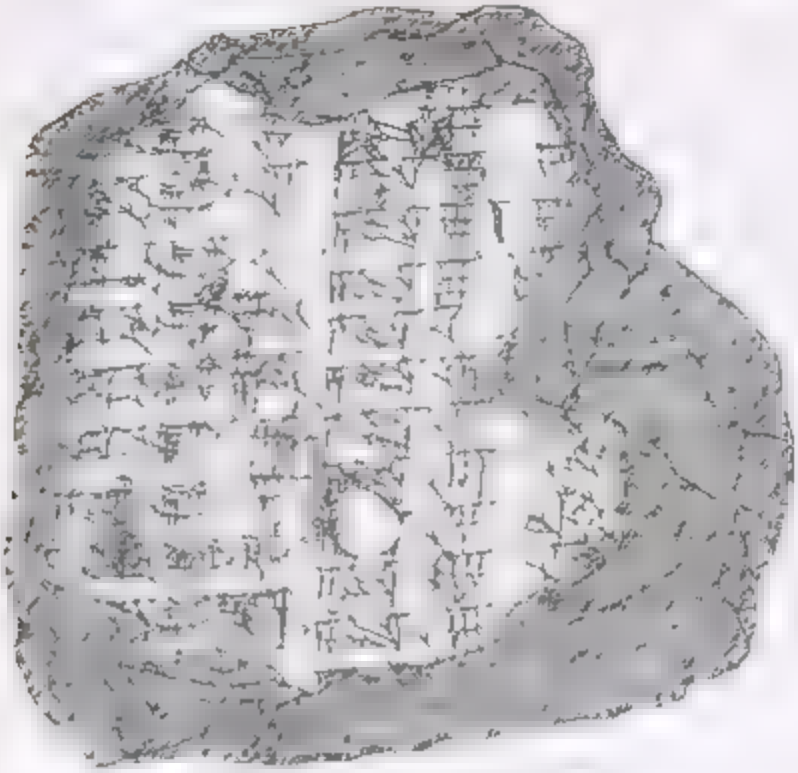
[illegible] Egyptian [illegible] Greek [illegible] Mel[illegible]

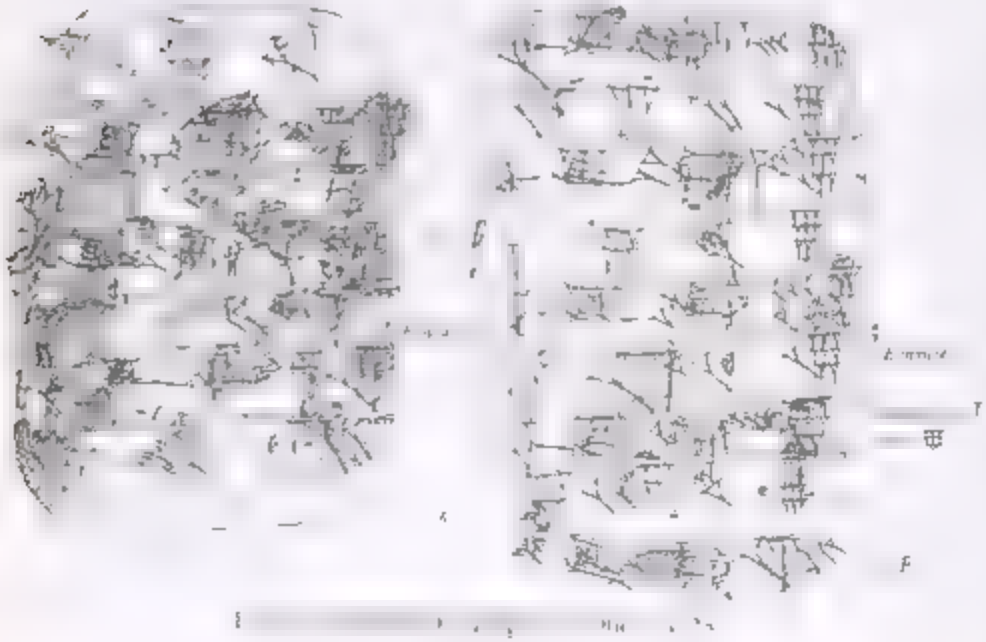
$$\frac{1}{60} \quad 125 = \frac{1}{30} + \frac{1}{75}$$

[illegible] now express the relationship between the 2 05, 12 and 28 48 as

1 [illegible] Smith and Pl[illegible]rpton both owe[illegible]

40 It is not at all clear why Smith consistently referred to tablets as 'cylinders', as none of those in [illegible]





$$2\,05^{=} 2\,00+5^{=} 5^{\cdot}\left(1+2\,00^{\cdot}\,\tfrac{1}{2}\right)^{=} 0;28\,48$$

That is, we understand the algorithm for finding reciprocals as essentia[illegible] rather than additive.[21] Nevertheless, Smith was absolutely right to ad[illegible] and Egyptian unit fractions.

[illegible] n Egyptian is ro, meaning, as you know, a mouth. I however wonde[illegible] [illegible] cross in the history of mathematics. I wish I m[illegible] be ab[illegible]

[illegible] the cuneiform evidence is so meagre and ambiguous that "the hi[illegible] sion ḫgt n-gál is still unclear" (Høyrup 1990: 53[illegible] reinterpretation of the original hieratic signs may have been, the [illegible] original hieratic signs" for fractions (Ritter 2000[illegible]

[illegible] Lines

was also very glad to find the reference to the subtractive principle on page 23.[24] I ha[illegible] never happened to meet this in my very cursory reading on the cuneiform inscriptions. W[illegible] tractive plan[illegible]

As I looked over pages 35 to 38 I thought I recognized some relation to the Egypti[illegible] [illegible] For example it occurred to me, as I glanced at the pages [illegible]

21 [illegible]owing Høyrup (1990) it is now [illegible] [illegible]tionship visually: see Robson (2[illegible]

22 H[illegible]lorecht (1906: 22[illegible]

24 Eisenlohr and Scheil (18[illegible]

25 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] page 88. [illegible] not [illegible] Indians know the use of p[illegible]

[illegible] delighted to [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] around him and was p[illegible] [illegible] in the following months [illegible] 20 March 190[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Febr 18 before. The only reason for [illegible] nervous collapse end of December which [illegible] Soon after I had resumed [illegible]

His first substantive po[illegible]

2. You are interested in the first line of [illegible] My restoration KA GAL-BI (p. 22) is based upon the fact [illegible] the me[illegible] without KA GAL-BI which may b[illegible] only KA [illegible] [illegible]

We know now that Hilprecht's vigorous [illegible] arguments for restoring the igi-1-ĝál-bi (0-am) at the start of the reciprocal [illegible] do not hold water, for they are based on tersely formatted tables of the form *n* *In* con[illegible] verbosely formatted igi *n*-ĝál-bi *In*. As he predicted, however, new material would [illegible] Sched 1915). Hilprecht con[illegible] tinued in the same vein, unwilling to concede that anything he had written might [illegible] to improvement and citing eminent Ge[illegible]

1. As to the Egyptian symbol for [illegible] leave it as it is, notwithstanding the Sc[illegible] the Semitic Babylonian and the H[illegible] [illegible]

3. As to the separation [illegible] their weights and other mea[illegible] Babylonian arrangement. You [illegible] be interested to know t[illegible] great care) Prof. Zimm[illegible] wanted to study) has accepted (with [illegible] details (ref. pp. 34) so [illegible] Mad[illegible] [illegible] Prof. Hommel of Munich a[illegible] Winckler of Berlin and nearly all the leadin[illegible]

40. Here Hilprecht has written the co[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] from the original were impossible, however [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] Nagel [illegible] Kalbfim" from Hoboken for Bremen — much earlier than I had hoped. And [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] expressed in his first letter [illegible] *American Mathematical Society* (Smith 1907a).[illegible] He immediately forwarded offprints to [illegible] earlier, on 18 April 1906, "sixteen American Orientalists" headed by Charles [illegible]

[illegible]

require in my opinion, and will take them with me for you to America, ready for you whe

should get mixed up again in his mind after I left here. I shall speak about

shall not be here

is still extant at Columbia. It read

> Collection of casts of Babylonian Cylinders in the Museum of the University of Pennsyl
>
> Professor H Ipprecht of UNMM

ther Smith's or Plimpton's *Nachlass* to acco

Plimpton from the tablet hunt

THE LITERARY FIND IN CONSTANTINO

The 'savant' was the Danish classics scholar Johan Ludvig Heiberg, wh

The book was a palimpsest: a tenth-century compilation of Archimedes' works to

twelfth-century *euchologion* or Christian prayer book. It is now known that

> includes the only copy of the treatise *Method of Mechanical Theorems*, in which Archimede
> plained how he drew upon mechanical means to elucidate his mathematical theorem

[illegible] on an Old World [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of February. South moved on to Rome [illegible] manuscript at all (GA[illegible] manuscript finally resurfaced at a Christie's auction [illegible]

[illegible]

Did Smith purchase cun[illegible] Although a hearing at the University of P[illegible] 1996: 133) the rumour [illegible] Smith 1907*a*: [illegible]

[illegible] favourable turn, as even as it became known that I meant to publish at the d[illegible]

[illegible] manuscripts at 5180) in the library of a savant who is [illegible] Hal[illegible] Bey of the Imperial Museum who has been doing all he can for me here (GA[illegible]

[illegible] wrote again to Smith [illegible] tablets that Smith had requested back in February 190[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] mathematical contribution to the volume was, interestingly enough, by another of [illegible] table of halved-and-doubled reciprocal pairs very similar to CBS 10201.[illegible] made "about 10 years ago" when he was still working for the British Museum [illegible] indeed, the whole text comprised genres of tables published first in Hilprecht [illegible]

Smith wrote twice on March 22 and again on April 5; the letters do not survive (DES10). The last piece of the correspondence dates to 13 Ap[illegible]

[illegible]

Unsurprisingly, the dinner party went ahead as planned; but that is the last we hear of [illegible]

[illegible]

4 Hilprecht (1909). Smith's signature is reproduced on page V, sixth from the top, on the [illegible] Library, catalogue number Smith 510.9 H.56

5 [illegible] Nissen, Damerow and Englund [illegible]

[illegible] 1910; Barton 1911) and Hilprecht finally resigned [illegible] end of 1910 (Kalkick 1996: 138).

[illegible]

[illegible] continued to grow. In late 1912 he wrote to [illegible] as usual, a pamphlet [illegible] parents' home in New York (GAP 14). B[illegible] the chairman of Ginn & Co., Plimpton had enlisted the [illegible] tablets for him. On 29 April 1915, the [illegible] 125 E. 52nd St., New York:

> [illegible] University asked me if I could [illegible] books. I have since enjoyed [illegible] to say that [illegible] tablets [illegible] Yale University. [illegible] have relinquished [illegible]

[illegible] assistant, now held a professorship at [illegible] Morgan, whose tablet collection he was later to pub[illegible] Yale Babylonian Collection of cuneiform tablets [illegible]

[illegible] John Dyneley Prince to look over the tablets [illegible] Messaveh on 1 July, saying that he [illegible] politely declined to split the lot [illegible] eventually did buy the whole group. At least the [illegible] see Appendix [illegible] tablets may have included nos. 266 or 267. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Back then, as Hilprecht had been drowning under the [illegible] the Nippur dig, a rival American expe[illegible]

Babylonian site of Bismya, ancient Adab, only 20 miles awa[illegible] was Edgar J. Banks (1866–1945), another former Delitzsch s[illegible] of the second season in 1905 under suspicio[illegible] incident has never been satisfactorily explained. Banks retu[illegible] 19[illegible]2, where, according to his *curriculum vitae*, he "climbed to [illegible] 17,212 ft. Aug. 20 and crossed the Arabia[illegible] exp e d(ito n" (CUN [illegible] he United States (Wasilewska 2008).

[illegible] to be fully aware of Plimpton's particular want:

> [illegible] fragments which have been carefully put together, so that it forms an unusually good speci[illegible] (CUN [illegible]

A sketch was enclosed. Plimpton promptly called on Smith for [illegible] confessed on 25 January 1923:

> [illegible] price is rather high, but, on the other hand, the tablet is unusually large and probably a [illegible]

[illegible]

> I have been holding the tablet for I thought that you might reply in time. I am sending a [illegible] to undertake it. (CUN [illegible]

48 Ewa Wasilewska, pers comm., 28 No[illegible]

49 Equivalent to about $520 today (EH[illegible]

[illegible] import, or was he simply [illegible]

[illegible]

However, [illegible] but an Old Babylonian tabular account in twelve columns [illegible]

[illegible]

In looking over some Babylonian tablets, which have just come from Bagdad, I have found [illegible] the ruin of the ancient city of [illegible] mentioned in Genesis 14:1. It comes from the Ierat *ca.* for "first" Bal[illegible] [illegible] Tawlum. Its approximate date is 2000 [illegible]. The tablet was found with several letters and business document tablets, all of which are [illegible] was the day apparently when [illegible]

[illegible] Old Babylonian [illegible] Hopefully [illegible] 20,000 silver [illegible]

[illegible] of goods [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
the tablets and now the face is inscribed (CUN [illegible]

On the [illegible] the word "date" in the bottom row. The word "reverse" is written underneath.

[illegible] been favourable, for on 21 August [illegible]

[illegible] from a note descriptive of the accounts. As far as I know, these are the only tablets of the [illegible] recovered.

[illegible] publisher.

The lowest price which I am able to accept for the twelve tablets [illegible] to keep them all, but would select one or two of the best ones, the [illegible]

[illegible] receptable" (CUN22). The group of nine tabular accounts [illegible] 286–294, 314, 323, and 324 of the Plimpton collection at Columbia.

[illegible] accounts. He reads:

No. 1. $5.00. Found at Senkereh, the Bestical Ha[illegible] Babylonia. The tablet is a s[illegible] these tablets have been found. They are generally of [illegible] rounded on the other. The writing is coarse, and [illegible] Babylon, and dates from the time of Hammurabi, King of [illegible] ls upon each side. The date is about 2300 B.C.

[illegible] 0. Found at Senkereh. A [illegible] with the [illegible] at the right contains the numerals 1 to 15. The numb[illegible]

[illegible]

22 Notice that the price has risen from $10 given in [illegible]

[illegible] ancient Babylonian [illegible]

[illegible] Plimpton's collection [illegible] no. 266 or no. 26[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] must have been the last [illegible]

[illegible] at the age of 75. He began to [illegible] manuscript collection, which [illegible] to his house at 61 Park [illegible] Donoghue 1998: 364). He had [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Plimpton [illegible] It was [illegible] collection [illegible] offered his papers [illegible] MENP [illegible] Stephens at Yale on 28th April 1934

> Dr Isaac Mendelsohn whose address is Columbia University [illegible] cataloguing of some cuneiform tablets which I have presented to the University [illegible]
>
> Dr Mendelsohn feels that he would like to be perfectly sure of his [illegible] on my return from Istanbul on July 11th [illegible]

[illegible] Sachs [illegible] true mathematical import of [illegible]

Meanwhile [illegible] Sachs was [illegible] collection which he had wanted to keep for himself or to sell whole to a big university or museum. However, money was short and he was desperate. He renewed old acquaintances and picked out possible new contacts from social columns and *Who is who in America* (Marquis 1899–), offering tablets to them.[7] Naturally, Plimpton was on his list.

> [illegible] tablets and similar objects, and they make most acceptable gifts. [illegible]

Banks signed off as "Field Director of the Recent Babylonian Expedition from the [illegible] years before. Plimpton [illegible] Bridgewood asked for further particulars of the seals (GAP16) and Banks promptly replied:

> [illegible] They are made of several different kinds of stone, as hematite, chalcedony, crystal, marble, calcite, and others. They come from almost every period of Babylonian history, and almost in a fine condition. They are engraved with various devices, as the Babylonian gods [illegible]

5 [illegible] Wasserman [illegible] November [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] have already bought from you. The last on[illegible] [illegible]sham. You said you would send me a transcr[illegible]

[illegible] wrote back promptly and apologetically on 18 February with the translation of cone[illegible] 81, "which was made by Professor Robert Pfeiffer of the Semitic Museum of Harvar[illegible] University, and I am still enough of a Babylonian scholar to verify it and it is correct" (AP19). Plimpton died a few months later, on 1 July 1936 just short of his 81st birth[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] mathematics with a dedication in the first issue of the journal *Osiris* (Sarton 1936 Frick [illegible] Even now he is considered "a major influence in establishing the history of mathe[illegible] [illegible]fession in the United States" (Lewis [illegible] [illegible] had [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Babylon[illegible]

[illegible] mathematically minded Assyriologists about the breakthroughs made by the Neugebauer school [illegible] his book. In mid-1929 he wrote to C. J. Gadd at the British Museum, who had published a large fragment of the [illegible] Gadd [illegible]

> [illegible] that I cannot undertake any new task [illegible] in which I am more interested. (DES

Smith also followed Neugebauer's career from Gottingen to Copenhagen to the United States (DES75) and reviewed his work (Smith 1935). In a letter of June 1929 Neugebauer outlined his plan [illegible] 1938*b*; 1938*c*).[20] Smith died in 1944 at the age of 8[illegible]

[illegible] opportunities cannot be laid solely at Hilprecht's door. The pamphlet [illegible] enclosed so regularly with his letters of enquiry to Hilprecht, Prince, Breasted, [illegible] in a system of academic gift exchange [illegible] ent. If any of his Assyriological correspondents had [illegible] proved as dedicated and [illegible]

[illegible] mathematical community to Old Bab[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
P 266	[illegible]	[illegible]

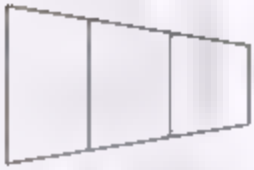
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
P 267	[illegible]	[illegible]
S 268		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
P 316	[illegible]	[illegible]
P 317	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

P 318 [illegible]

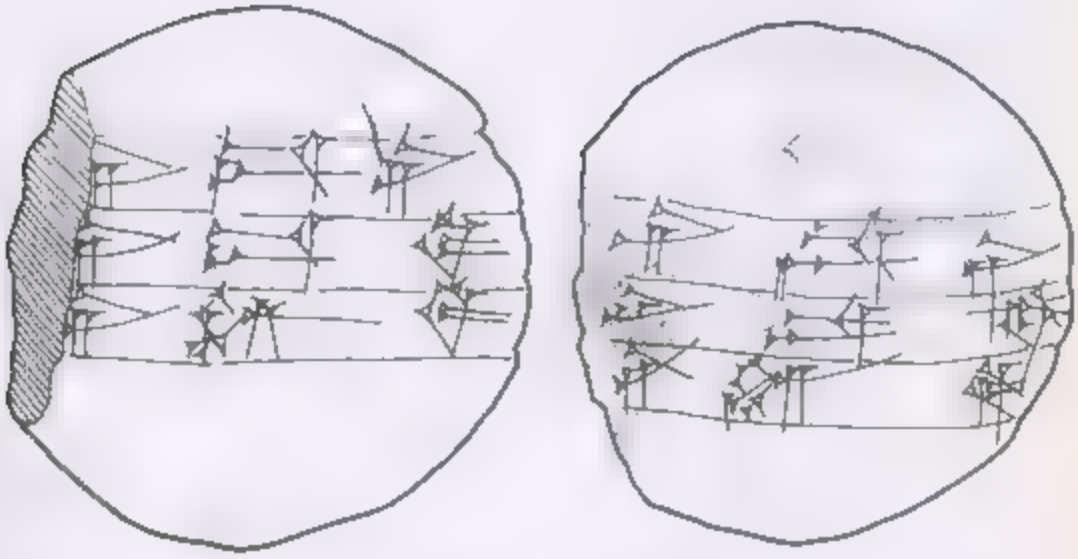
[illegible]

P 320 [illegible]

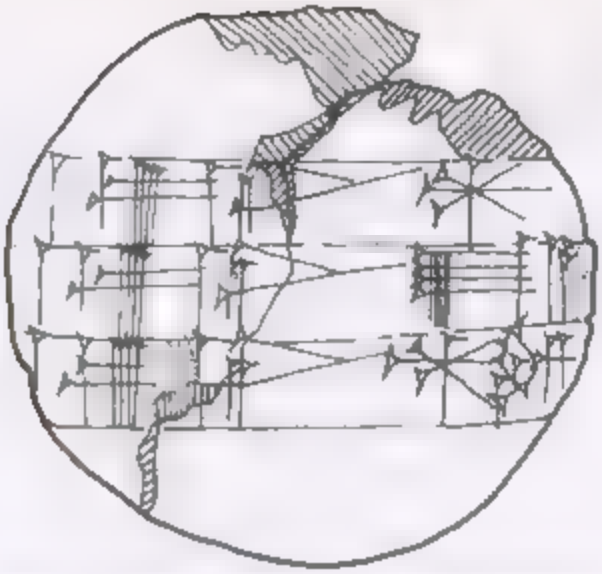


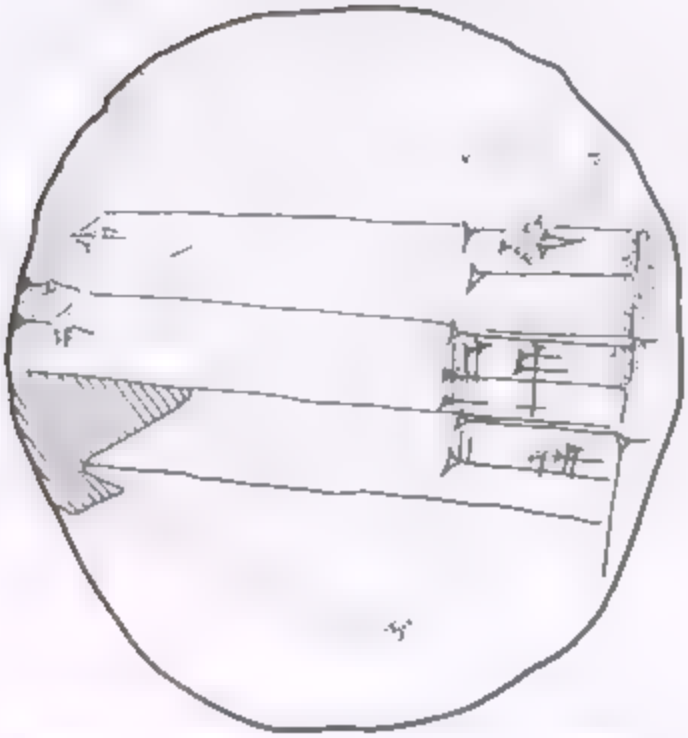
[illegible]

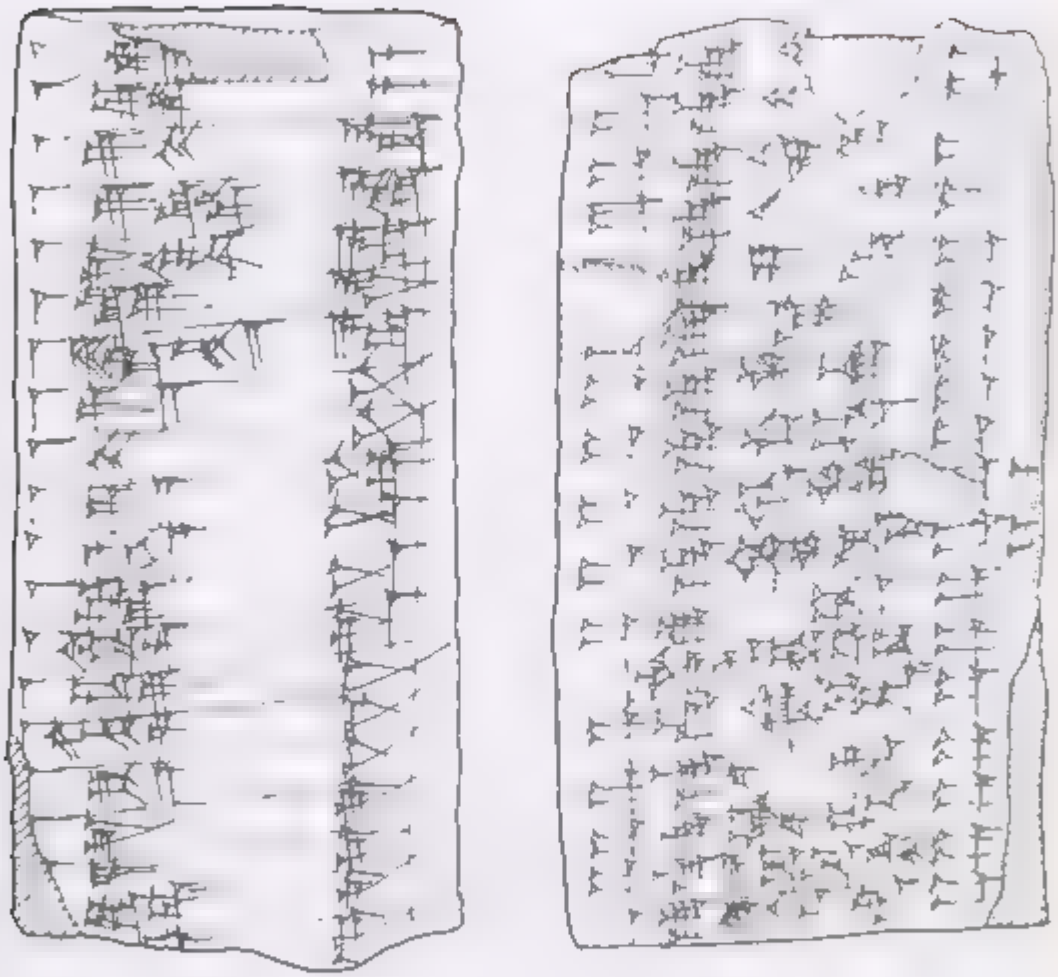
[illegible]

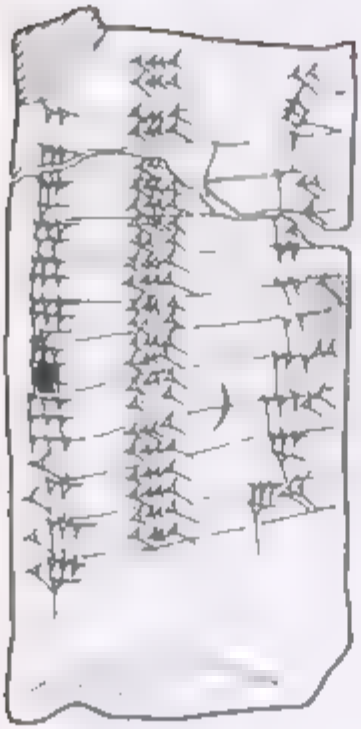


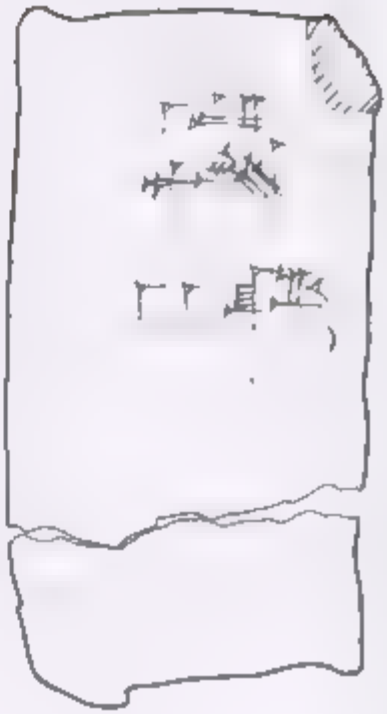
[illegible]

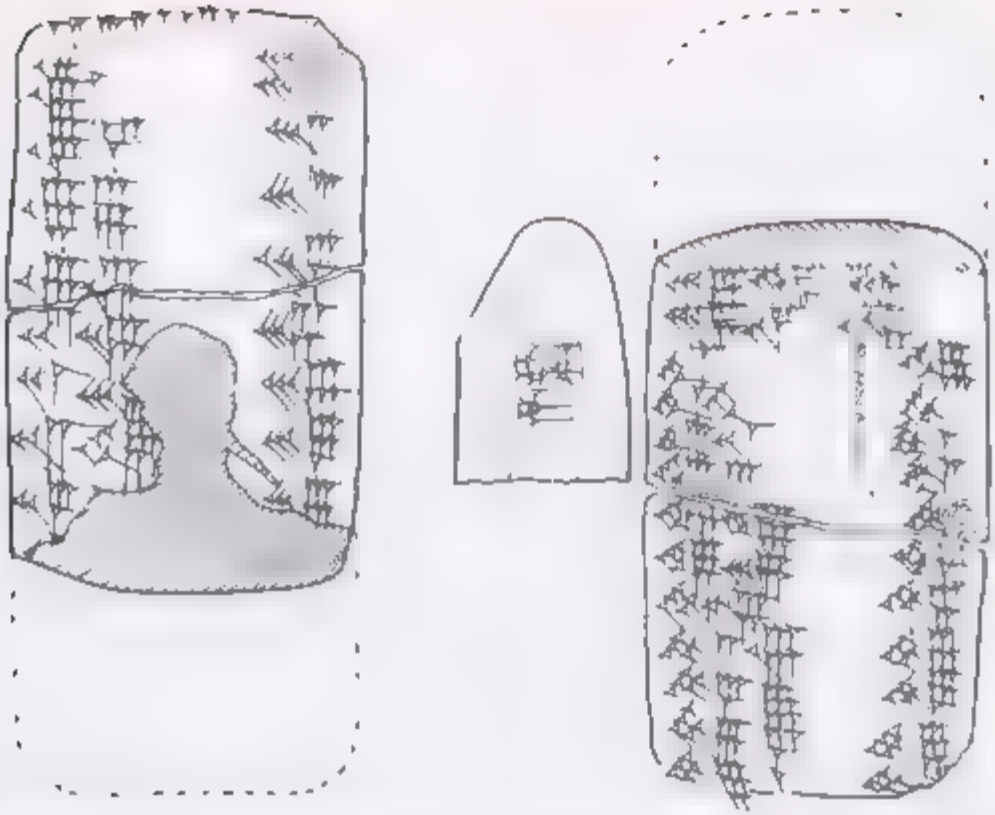


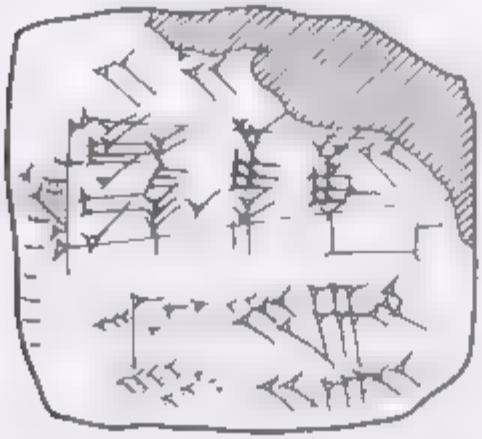












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Some Lunar Ephemerides and Related Texts from Babylon

[illegible][*]

[illegible] Neugebauer in his [illegible] ACT. Some of these texts had been edited and their contents explained [illegible] Epping, Kugler and others,[*] but Neugebauer placed their study on a [illegible] texts than had hitherto been known, by further explanation [illegible] and by establishing the terminology we still [illegible] Since the publication of ACT [illegible] by Neugebauer, Sachs and Aaboe.[3]

The ACT texts [illegible] the planets, and those that deal with the moon. ACT [illegible] may itself be divided into two groups: texts that calculate [illegible] of step functions, which we call texts of System A [illegible] System A and System B texts [illegible] System A [illegible] much higher theoretical structure than System B [illegible]

[illegible] Society Research Grant A[illegible]

[illegible] supplements, the last by F. Schaumberger, M[illegible]

[*] *E.g.*, A. Aaboe, *S*[illegible] Der Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, M[illegible] Mendele ser. 4/13 [illegible] Videnskabernes Selskab [illegible] Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser 40/61 [illegible] see H. Hunger a[illegible]

[illegible] a step function, the d[illegible] $\Delta\lambda$ is funct[illegible] on. $\Delta\lambda$ is [illegible]

[illegible] System A text can be seen as a thin slice of some [illegible] of System A to the previous line in [illegible] the texts are separated by a small [illegible]

[illegible] Systems A and B is still a major question in the [illegible] that System A is older than [illegible] parameters used in both theories are [illegible] and so "better" parameters do [illegible] designers of System B. Furthermore, if one [illegible] could equally well be argued that the tighter [illegible] System A reflects a higher, and therefore later, level of development [illegible] where, and in any case are invalidated [illegible] rently used in making predictions in the [illegible] describe as containing non-mathematical astronomy, which were [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] No. 122, whose own [illegible] columns are generally only connectable over a few years (column A [illegible] to be an extreme case which is connectable w[illegible] period as ACT No. 122 (SE 208–210) can be dated [illegible] very late texts can be dated in this way. This ma[illegible]

[illegible] created by double ruled lines, etc. In restoring columns of System A texts, I have gen[illegible] always restored com[illegible] may be found on a[illegible]

Not all of these texts were dated at the time of publication of ACT, however. The advent of [illegible] which is a sum of [illegible] Astronomical Text from Uruk, *Archive for History of Exact Science* [illegible] (2000), 105.

1 The existence of a System B auxiliary text from Babylon, ACT No. 149, containing eclipse ma[illegible]

Text A **BM 36890** [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	KIN]	[59.46 17 46 40]	[24 12 5/6]	[3.10.32]	[6 37 33 6 LAL LAL]	[1 54. 4 58]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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	[GAN]	[2. 4 7.24.26.40]	[24 12 MAŠ]	[2 26 6,24]	[3. 19 36 LAL U]	[12 10.44
	[AB]	[2 6 53,20]	[24.12 A(.LA]	[2.25 53,36]	[3. 2,35.54 U U]	[54.15.58]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[2 40]	[15 43 26 LAL	[9 11 48 LAL]	[2 15 4]	[illegible] 40] 8 [illegible]	[illegible]	
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Text B **BM 76973 + 77033** (AH 83-1-18 2345+2408)

Contents: Lunar System A columns Φ and G, for SE 1.36 IV to 1.40 II

Critical Apparatus

[illegible]

[illegible] 11′ 2 1 2′5′ 11 16 40 O[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 30 12 15 74 17+x′ 76 40 The preserved traces look like 7+x, but [illegible]

[illegible] 41 12 15 50 3 71 46 40 Only x+3+x is preserved of 4

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Rev. I 13 2 16 33 20 M[illegible]

Rev. I 16 2 10 18′ 33′ 6 40 The traces look like 33, but 31 is required

Rev. I 18 2 4 4′6′ 40 Only 45+x remains of the 4

Rev. II 5 The ruling sys[illegible]

Commentary

[illegible]

[illegible] scribes [illegible] written. On v a few signs at the start of column II remain, but they are sufficient to show that we have here the values of C_{Φ} corresponding to the Φ values in column I. Thus this text is an extract of [illegible] Φ [illegible]

[illegible] are all fairly early in date.

Text B

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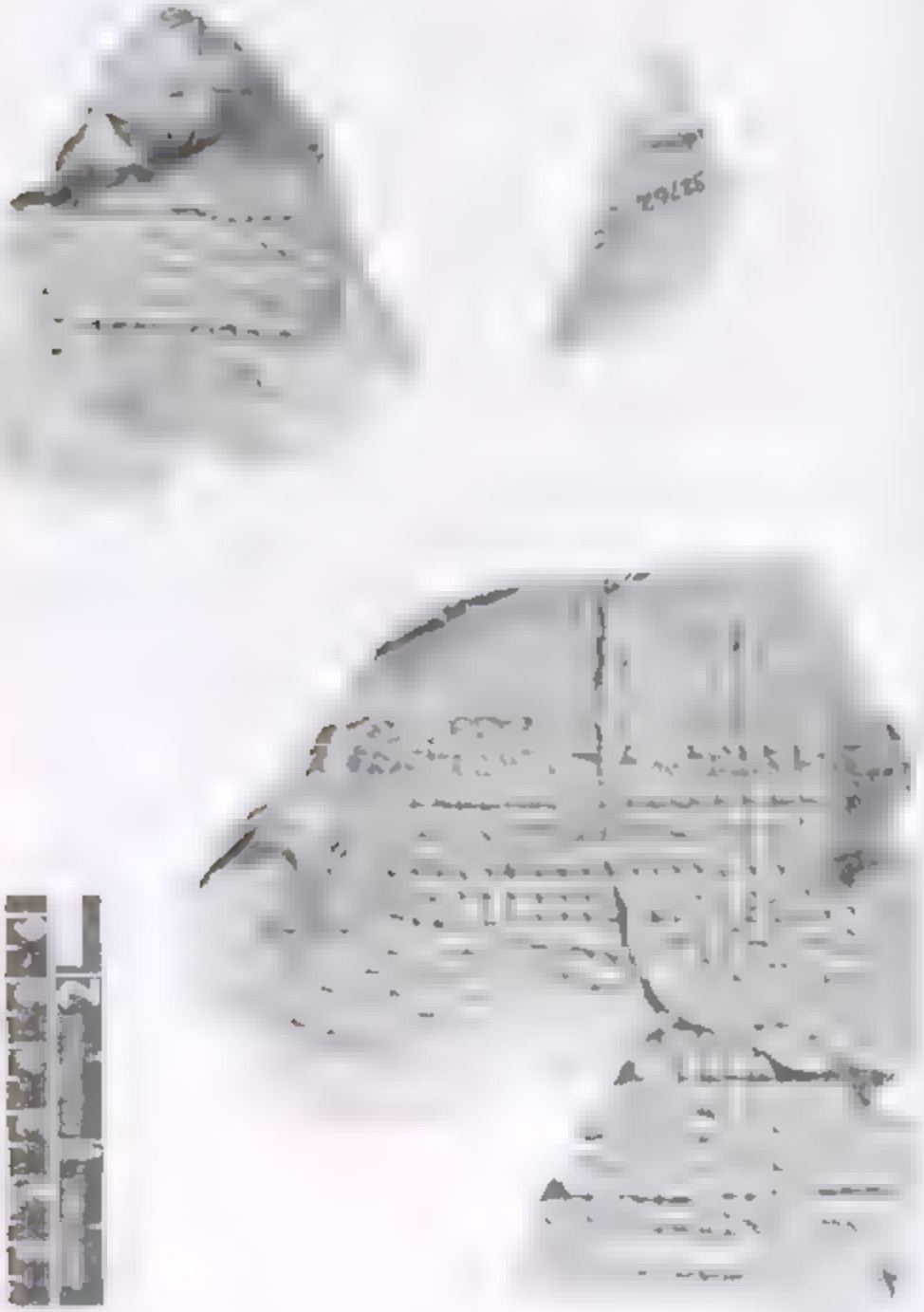
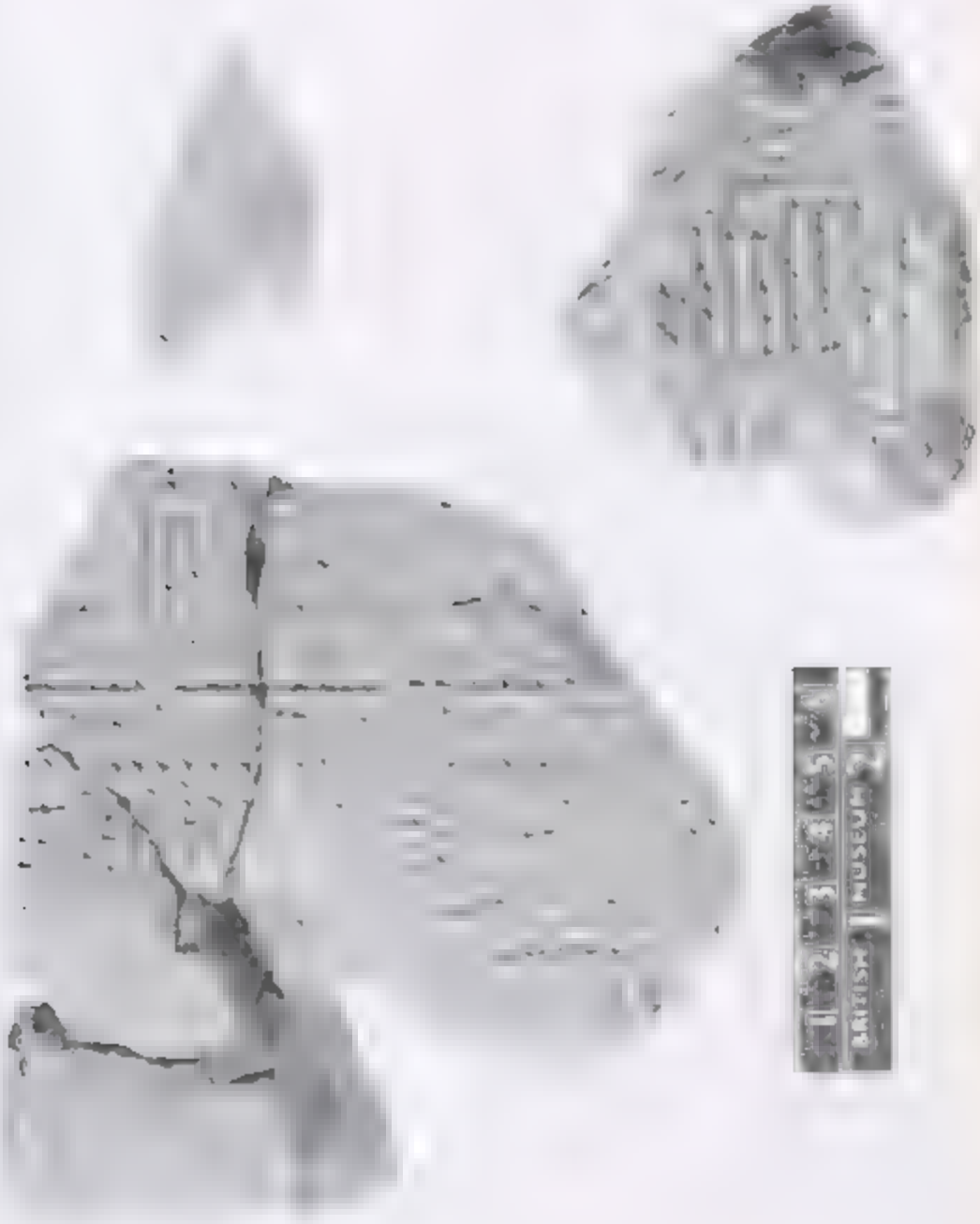
Text C BM 32762+34575+34687+132282

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Text D BM 32302+32531+32742 [illegible]

Contents [illegible] Φ B C, E, Ψ, F for [illegible] to 2 35 II

Previously published BM 32302 + 32742 [illegible] BM 32531 [unpublished]

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Obv II 18 2 7 31 7 46' 40 [illegible]

Obv III 22 1 5 13 3 46' 51 [illegible]

Obv III 23 [illegible]

Obv V 18 4 2 34 [illegible]

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Rev I [illegible]

Rev II 4 [illegible] 9 53 32 6 40 [illegible]

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Rev III 12 [illegible] 18 45 [illegible]

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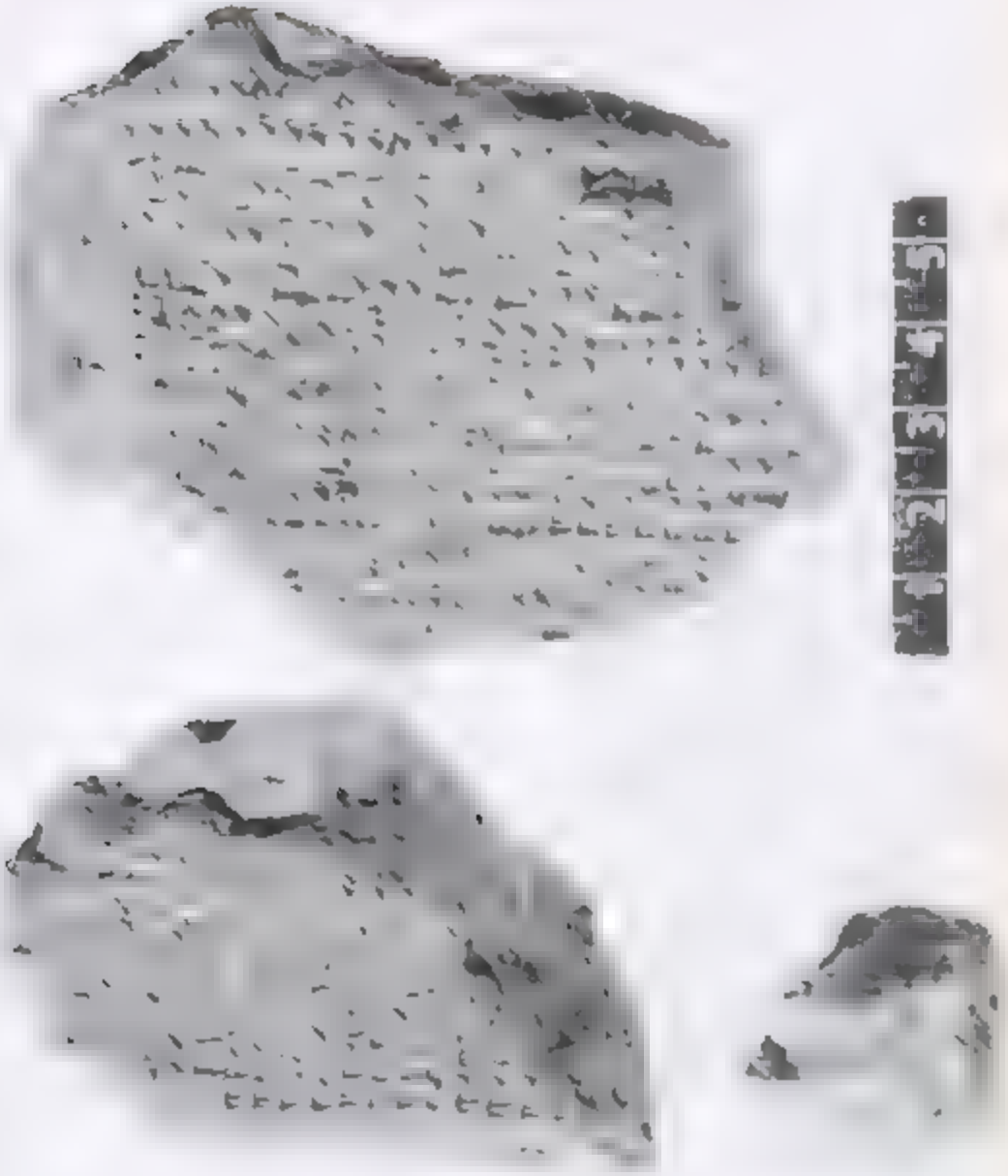
Column F is the abbreviated [illegible] no other Text C above or AC 1 [illegible]



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25	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	4 45 [illegible]
[illegible]	4 12 59 [illegible] 26 [illegible]		[illegible]	4 [illegible] 48
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14 49	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] 54
15,31	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5.41	2 40	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14 59	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14 17	[illegible] 24 26 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
12 53	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 29	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 3	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
2 45	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	BAR	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[13.46,53]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2 47]	[4. 8,39 45 11, 6,40]	[57 3 45 LAL]	[7 9 LAL]	[3 4
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[4 11]	[3 17 2,28 8 53 20]	[57 3 45 LAL]	[9 LAL]	[2 19 4
4,53]	,2 5, 18 20]	[57 3,45	[illegible]	[illegible]
5,45]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[[4,55]	[2.41 36. 6,40]		[8.43 12 TAB]	[2.50.19
[14,13]	[3 2, ,14.48,53.20]		[4 43 12 TAB]	[illegible]
[13,31]	[3 27 48 53 20]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
,12. 7]	[4 9 26 10 22 13 20]		[7 16 48 LAL]	,[4 12, 9
11 25,	[4 45 ,4 48 53 20]	[42 59 13,30 LAL]	[9 31,45 LAL]	[illegible]
11,25]	[4,55 16 17 46 40]	[57 3 45	[illegible]	[illegible]
12. 7]	[4,33, 1,58,31, 6,40]	[57 3,45 LAL]	[5. 2 LAL]	[3 30,5
2 49]	,4. 7 13.20]	[57 3,45 LAL]	[1,32 LAL]	[3 8
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Text E **BM 33054**

Text F **BM 41120** (81-4-28,167)

Contents: Lunar System B columns H and J

	I (H)	II (J)
	[2]'37 30	'3'[0 31,30 TAB]
2'	[9],25	21 [6,30 TAB]
3'	[1]6,12 30	4 54 [TAB]
4'	[19]	'1'4 '6' [1 AL]
5'	[12 12 30]	[2]'6' 18 '3'[0 LAL]
6'	[5 25]	[3][1 4][3 20 LAL]
7	[1 22 30]	[3][1 5 12 1 AL]

Commentary

5 [illegible]

Commentary

[illegible]

Text G **BM 46264** [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] and I

		[illegible]	[illegible]
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Endogamy in Mesopotamia in the Neo-Babylonian Period

Caroline Waerzeggers — Ghent

1. Introduction

Endogamy is the practice of contracting marriage within a social group. The group may be defined in various terms: descent or blood, ethnicity, religion, law, or a marriage or adoption space. In local communities, it more generally refers to a shared social background, which can be ethnic, religious, or simply a local community. In anthropology, endogamy is used to describe marriage systems in which people are seen to marry within a prescribed local, social or kinship group. Outside anthropology, the term may be applied to isolated marriages or to situations where societies have been not practice endogamy as a rule.

This research is restricted to consanguineous endogamy, marriage between blood relatives, in Mesopotamia in the Neo-Babylonian period (ca. 400–484 BC). Affinal endogamy will also be discussed here. In this instance, we find marriage practices such as levirate marriage, where the widow of a deceased man married one of the deceased's brothers, and the *sororate marriage*, marriage with an elder sister of the deceased wife, and the *[illegible]* marriage with an elder brother, as well as marriages between a man's [illegible] and female cousins. Affinal endogamy includes marriages between two or more social groups, such as between two families or within a restricted group of families. This last type of affinal endogamy borders on homogamy, which is now [illegible] preferred marriage practice in Mesopotamia.

In spite of the progressive publication of Neo-Babylonian tablets and archives in recent years, consanguineous endogamy remained badly attested with no more than two certain reports and some heavily debated cases of sororate marriages. There is reason to believe that this seemingly marginal marriage practice was more widespread. A single unpublished family archive from Sippar nevertheless has [illegible] that it seems worthwhile to collect all available data and reconsider the matter.

1 Levirate and sororate are both attested in the [illegible] Bors pp. [illegible] Aegypten [illegible] KAI [illegible] Wunsch, AfO [illegible] Nabu [illegible]

2 For instance in the Nappāḫu family of Ungnad, AnOr 12, 321, 323

[illegible] of urban propertied families. The [illegible] archives. Such archives always imply [illegible] generally less visible in the available [illegible] women, marriages and family [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] has been studied by H. Petschow in [illegible] only first-grade relatives (father [illegible] with certain spouses of these [illegible] lifetimes. This last set of prohibitions [illegible] further her [illegible]

[illegible] marriage is the immediate [illegible] be no objection (at least not in a wa[illegible] course between siblings. Does this [illegible] is much debated. There are a[illegible] spouses [illegible] of scribal error (Camb 110) and [illegible] Pelser BRI II 35-36).[4] Slight [illegible] 9 where Qudasu, daughter of Sula [illegible] Nuhšu-abiše-dan need not be siblings [illegible] that Qudasu might well have been the [illegible] the presence of this Sula's tablets [illegible] of Sula, Nabu-zera-ukin/Egibi [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Šamaš-šuma-lišir, son of Bel-kešir ile-Marduk, who is attested once.[7] In this way a brother-sister marriage could be established at one [illegible]

[illegible] although some marriages were not mentioned [illegible] whether they actually occurred [illegible] be based solely on demonstrated economic and social prospect of such an alliance. Moreover, we should be aware that Neo-Babylonian kinship [illegible] reflect [illegible] under the same [illegible] building a hypothesis.

III. Limits of documentation

[illegible] extremely difficult to pin down as this requires [illegible] because archives were handed down from father [illegible] grandson and so on, a practice [illegible] Nevertheless [illegible] Masuk [illegible] as [illegible] Sippar, Babylon and Borsippa [illegible]

I will now proceed to the presentation [illegible] endogamy in the Neo-Babylonian period. [illegible] and will then be submitted to more general questions as to the motives for such [illegible]

Evidence from the Masuk archive (Sippar)

1. The archive

Among [illegible] of the [illegible] from Neo-Babylonian Sippar, its existence was [illegible] Apart from a small [illegible] archive was rediscovered published and is extremely rare [illegible] Only a few [illegible] be recognised. The tablets were considered to form an archive on the following grounds:

[illegible] Nur al-iddin/Balibu. This group of texts was [illegible] Beatrice [illegible] and published [illegible] in the catalogue of cuneiform tablets in the New Babylonian collection (NBC) at Yale.[8] [illegible] the Ardia archive [illegible] the New [illegible] A documentary discussion [illegible] presented that information [illegible] the Kerem Shalom Museum (KSM) [illegible].[9] [illegible] can be assigned to this group [illegible] the late Frederick Lewis [illegible] Bible Lands.[10]

While the [illegible] texts do not [illegible] the issue, Busasa's [illegible] Bel-iddin from the Masruk family.

[illegible] Masruk [illegible] NBC [illegible] are only a part of the remains of a full-fledged family archive in NBC and FLP: five generations of the family Masruk are represented, starting from the [illegible] great-grandfather right down to the sisters.

This means that the tablets of Ardia and his sister 'Busasa share the same museum context with the archive of 'Busasa's family-in-law. The implication is obvious: these [illegible] the tablets of Ardia entered into the Masruk archive as a result of a series of endogamous marriages. I shall return on the mechanics leading to this integration further on.

[illegible] Masruk [illegible] Nur al-iddin [illegible] and Dar 13. Ardia's and 'Busasa's tablets form an enclave in the larger archive, all items being dated between Caneb 02 and Dar 10, an interval that yielded next to no prope[illegible] types with shortlived value (house rental contracts, accounts of a business venture). The [illegible] contracts attesting to property (e.g., in the context of a lawsuit or a dowry) concern now [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of the protagonists of the last generation.

[illegible] more or less [illegible] between [illegible] the Nippur [illegible] Museum. [illegible] tablet in Ontario did not accidently end up [illegible] ETT and NBC have other tablet groups in common with ROM[14]. All the [illegible] were acquired in the 1910–1920s, obviously [illegible] on the antiquities market. In addition to the Mastuk archive, ETP and NBC share two other, smaller groups in Nippur: one concerns the sons of Kribti-Marduk/Sahit-ginê and their business partner [illegible]; the other has a certain Bêl apla-iddin/[illegible] protagonist. [illegible] these [illegible] groups and the Mastuk archive [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] cussion of the family history in the [illegible] as protagonists in the archive are emboldened. More [illegible] are documented in the [illegible] will be edited along with the rest of the Mastuk archive in a forthcoming publication.

1. The marriages

Busasa and Bêl iddin

The first marriage documented in the archive is that of ʾBusasa, daughter of Nergal-ušēzib/Baldiu, and Bêl iddin, son of Nadin/Mastuk. As far as [illegible] 457 (no. 1). Only ʾTablat is expressly stated to be a daughter of ʾBusasa, but ʾAʾa-enqet [illegible] In addition to ʾTab-ut and ʾAʾa-enqet, three sons of Bêl iddin are known: Bêl-ēṭir, Ina-qibi-Bêl and Bêl-iddin. We cannot be sure that they were born out of the marriage with Busasa [illegible]

3 Tablets from the Ekur of Nippur (cf. Zadok, NABU 1997/13; Ioannès, MOS 1, 176 n. 9 and Beaulieu, *Catalogue Yale* 1, 6, 90) and tablets from the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu from Larsa (cf. Beaulieu, MOS 2, 65–7).

14 [illegible] ETT [illegible] 02, 1446, 1623; NBC 6155, 6156. Tablets of Bêl apla-iddin date between Dar 29 [illegible] 44: ICS 78 no. 9, 26, 29, 48; ETP 66; NBC 6152.

15 Roth, CSN [illegible]

[illegible]

BAU [illegible]

[illegible]

—(?)— [illegible]

[illegible]

? [illegible]

[illegible]

Marduk-nāṣir [illegible]

Ardia [illegible]

Busasa —(?)— **Bel-iddin** [illegible]

Marduk-šama-iddin [illegible] (Dar 34)

'Amīlu-šadu (Dar 35)

Iddin-Bēl (Dar 08–Dar 35)

'Tablu (Dar 08–Dar 10)

[illegible]

?

Gurd Samas/Rēmūt Bel Sarru-ilī
Gurd 05–Dar 38

[illegible]

[illegible]

MAŠTU'K

Aplā
Nbn [illegible]

[illegible]

Nadin
[illegible]

MAŠTU'K

Nergal-usallim
Nbn 13–Dar 10)

Ile'iu
(Nbn 15)

Kalba
(Nbn [illegible]

?

?

Ina qibi Bel
Dar 09–Dar 20)

Bēl-iksur
(Dar 09–Dar 22)

Sin-banā
(Dar 09)

Liblut
(Dar 13)

Bēl-itannu
(Dar 09)

Nupta
(Nbn 15

[illegible] that he had some kind of [illegible]

1 [illegible]

Aja-enqet and [illegible] Nanna

A[illegible]qet and [illegible]ldatu were first to be married. In the years following their father's death both reached marriageable age. Only Aja-enqet's marriage can be dated, so hers will be treated first. A receipt recording the transfer of her dowry is preserved in the archive.

No. 1: ELP 1457 (Sippar, Camb 05)

Obv.	1	1 ma-na ku.babbar 1 gín kù.gi
	2	[illegible]
	3	[illegible]
	4	[illegible]
	5	[illegible] dub *a-na nu-dun-nu-u sá-at* [illegible]
	6	[illegible]ag-šeš meš mu a [illegible]mu-*lib-ši* [illegible] ad *šá* [illegible]šu [illegible]
	7	[illegible] dumu mu a [illegible]
	8	[illegible]u gur-mu a [illegible]kaskal kur
	9	*a-ki-i* [illegible]dub-*šu* [illegible]
Rev.	10	[illegible]*mu-kin nu* [illegible]utu-tin[illegible] a *šu ut*
	11	[illegible]u.gur-mu a [illegible]kaskal kur
	12	[illegible]
	13	[illegible]
	14	[illegible]
	15	ud.kib nun[illegible] [illegible]še ud 21 kam
	16	[illegible] kam [illegible]
	17	lugal e[illegible] lugal kur kur

Translation

[illegible] Nergal-iddin, one [illegible] of Sippar, [illegible] Nergal-iddin, son of Nergal-iddin, descendant of Sippar, [illegible] Remut-Bel/Nabu-[illegible] Nergal-iddin, son of Nergal-iddin, descendant of Sippar, [illegible] Busasa, daughter of Nergal-iddin/Balihu, [illegible]

(10) Witnesses: Nanna-[illegible] Nergal-iddin, Balihu, Bel-[illegible] Nabu-zer-iqisa, [illegible]

(13) Scribe: Remut-Bel/Nabu-ahhe-iddin, Sumu-libši

(15) Sippar, 21st of addaru (twelfth month), fifth year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of the lands.

According to ELP 1457 [illegible] Nanna-[illegible] son of Nergal-iddin, [illegible] Nanna-[illegible] son of [illegible] Nergal-iddin, descendant of Sippar, [illegible] Sippar[18] documents seem to have been related to Aja-enqet and played some important roles in

18 Nergal-iddin [illegible] the Murašu archive in BM [illegible] Berens 2 [illegible] 55 [illegible] Nanna instead of Nergal-iddin.

Obv [illegible]

Rev 10 [illegible]

[illegible] Samaš had previ[illegible] was reached. It is possible that Bel-iddin had made some arrangements for 'Aja-enqet's marriage prior to his death. On the other hand, 'Busasa's brother [illegible] ing Gimil-Šamaš a [illegible] band for 'Aja-enqet (BM 74570 [illegible] Gimil-Šamaš writes a tablet favouring a daughter of Šamaš [illegible] while her father appears [illegible]

Tabluṭ and Aid

[illegible]

We learn of the marriage only after [illegible] 2 Dar 08) a huge amount of silver (two minas) is charged against 'Tab[illegible] Iddin-Bel who relin[illegible] 'Busasa [illegible] was [illegible] Bel-[illegible] was [illegible] 'Busasa and hence 'Tabluṭ's materna[illegible]

19 Gimil-Šamaš is last attested in Dar 35 (see the previous note), this is almost forty years after h[illegible]

No. 2: FLP 1473 (Dar 08, Suppas) FLP 652 is a duplicate

Obv 1 2 ma na ku babbar *ša ina* 1 gín *bit-qa nu-uh-mu-tu*

[illegible]

3 *ina muh-hi* ^{m}nu-^{d}en a-*šu* ^{id} ^{m}ir-*ia* a ^{md}kaskal kur

[illegible]

5 [illegible]

[illegible] ku-b-sh-

[illegible] ^{m} *ta-a-mu u* ut-ra ku babbar *ša a na*

8 [illegible]

[illegible]

Rev 11 [illegible]

13 [illegible] dam[illegible]

15 [illegible] a-*šu id* ^{md}en-mu a ^{m}ir-^{d}gir, ku

[illegible]

17 ^{mu}ay-mu urn a-*šu ša* ^{md}ag-mu gá[illegible]

18 [illegible]

19 [illegible]

21 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

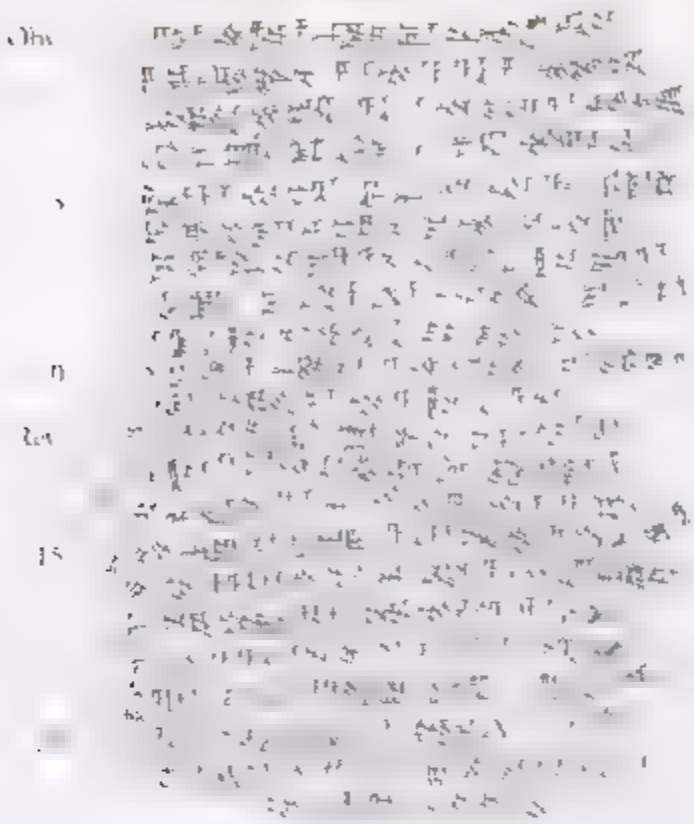
Lo.E. 25 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] dd-na Muse'ib-Bel by Iddin-Bel; Ardu-Bēlibni and 'Tabbut-Bel-iddin Mašruk, the moker of Idim-Bel. (5) Nanā-sumunu, her slave, is pledged for 1 mina of silver. (7) No slave [illegible] the other mina of silver due. (10) No second creditor will dispose of (the slave [illegible] Bēl-Nādin [illegible]

[illegible]



1 [illegible]

1 The same Nabû-šuma-usur is probably meant in ABC 37 14 (Sippar Dar 17), where the spelling of the patronym is mistaken (mdag-mu[illegible]

18 Iddi-na-Bit-Ili-ēṭir reappears as a witness in BM 79734 (Sippar Dar 10), a debt note from the [illegible]

HT 147 (no. 2) attests to the marriage of [illegible] her's brother Ardia. [illegible] suggested by the fact that tablets concerning Ardia [illegible] start entering the archive in Camb 02 (see below). If this is correct, Tablut was married before Ina-enqet, almost immediately after their father's death. Why Busasa gave her [illegible] practical solution to a [illegible] Busasa's family after the death of Bel-iddin. Busasa had four children under the age of fourteen to support in addition to Tablut, who was marriageable. Marriage [illegible] Busasa's [illegible] new household thus created.

Tabluṭ and Nergal-ušallim

After approximately twelve years of marriage Ardia died and Tabluṭ was left widowed with a son. According to FLP 145 no. 3 there were debts to be paid off and this might have caused problems. Two years later Tabluṭ was given in marriage to her paternal uncle Nergal-ušallim with a suspiciously large dowry.

No. 3: NBC 6184 (Sippar, Dar 10) NBC 6230 is a duplicate

Obv	1	5 ma.na ku babbar *ša ina* 1 gín *bit-qa ša gín-nu*
	2	1 gín *gir-u* kù.gi *ù* 1er hú-*ut-tu*$_4$
	3	*ù u-de-e ḫ a-ki-i ina* ^{md}dub
	4	[illegible]
	5	[illegible] šu[illegible] *bu-sa-ni* dumu-munus-*su ša* ^{md}u gur-mu
	6	[illegible]
	7	[illegible]
Rev	8	^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^{m}lu-^{d}ag a-*šu* [*ša* ^{md}en-mu
	9	[illegible]
	10	^{md}u gur-mu a ^{m}^{lú}en kaskal kur[-^{m}PN
	11	a *šu ša* ^{m}*ṣi-di*-dingir-meš ^{m}numun-dù a-*šú* [*ša* ^{m}PN
	12	^{m}[illegible] a-*šu ša* ^{m}*ab-di* [illegible]
	13	a-*šu ša* ^{m}*re-mut* '^{d}en' '^{lú}urubisag' ^{md}GNI *bul ḫi-su*
	14	a-*šu ša* ^{m}*ḫas-da-a* 'a' [x x x] 'x' [illegible]
	15	[illegible] 6 kam [mu] 10 kam [illegible]
	16	lugal e^{ki} *u* kur kur-[illegible]

Translation

Nergal-ušallim received 5 minas of stamped silver with $^1/_8$ alloy, $1^1/_{24}$ šeqels of gold and [illegible] from Bunene-Nergal-dayan, son of Tabluṭ, in accordance with the terms set out in the tablet of Tabluṭ-bēlu-dīn.

Witnesses: Nur-Sîn, Nabû-Bēl-šumāti, Arad-Nergal, Šamaš-šallim, Nergal-iddin, Bēl-ibni, PN, Ploughman, Zēria-ibni, PN, Ṣāmit-aba-usur, Ardia, Gimillu, Kenûr-Bēl.

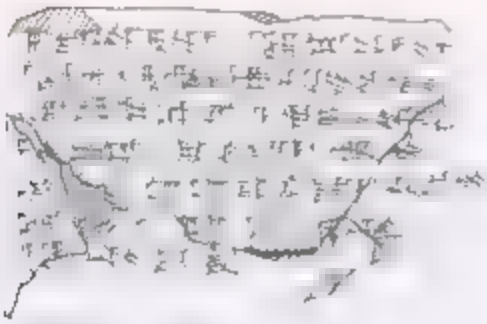
3) Scribe: GNI bulissu/Ḫasda/ PN.

PN (Sippar) was active in each month of each year of Darius, king of Babylon, as a scribe in lands.

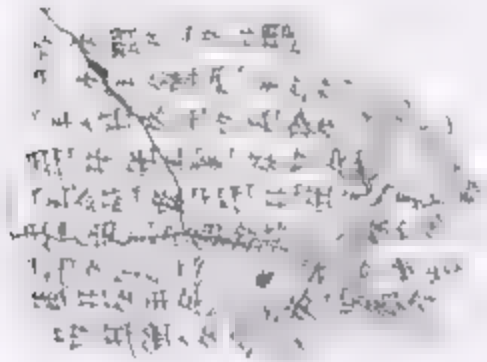
Commentary

[illegible] Ata-enqet's husband, cf. FLP 145 [illegible]

Obv.



Rev.



Finally ʿBusasa's in-laws re appear on the scene. After her husband's death ʿBusasa seems to have turned to her own family for support, but her sons were heirs of her family-in-law, who must have kept an interest in their fate. NBC 6184 (no. 3) records the transfer of a huge amount of silver, some gold, a slave and household goods from ʿBusasa to her brother-in-law. The word dowry is not used, but the goods are typical dowry items and they are stated to have been entered in a tablet belonging to Tablut, a phrasing that usually refers to the transfer of property in the context of a marriage.

At the moment of the marriage Nergal-uṣallim had three grown-up children: ʿSin-banâ, Tablut and Bēl-ittannu.[29] ʿTablut, the daughter of his deceased brother, became his second wife, she herself having a son from a previous marriage with her mater na. ance. This is an impressive succession of endogamous marriages, but family ties were even more perplexing as will be seen in the next section.

For a remarriage on both sides, the huge amount of silver transferred at the occasion (5 minas) is rather suspicious, especially when compared to the one mina in ʿAja-enqet's dowry. The fact that the word *nudunnû* is missing in NBC 6184 (no. 3) might not be accidental. We know that Tablut faced financial problems after Aplayaḫu (FLP 1473 no. 2). She managed to meet that debt, otherwise the document and its duplicate would not be in the archive, but she might have needed help. If the debt which had been incurred by her husband was paid out of her deceased father's estate, this would have caused an imbalance in favour of her family-in-law. Bēl-ittannu's act that the debt note and duplicate entered the archive of Bēl-ṣaḫir, who belonged to the Masīrāʾu branch, seems to indicate an involvement of her father's family in paying off the debt. The subsequent remarriage to her father's brother and the huge sum of silver accompanying the occasion might represent a clearance of arrears owed to her father's family.

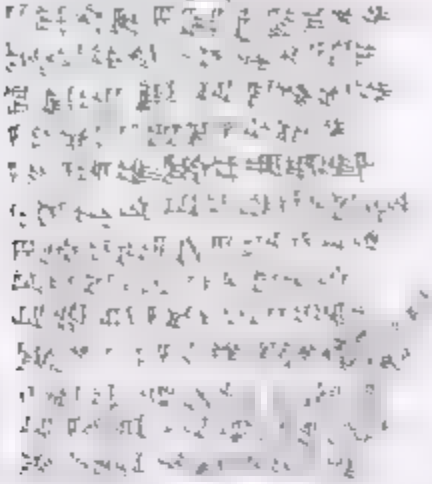
29 ʿSin-banâ: PTA 28 (no. 4, Dar 07); Tablut: PTA 28 (no. 24, Dar 13); Bēl-ittannu: PTA 28 (no. 4, Dar 09).

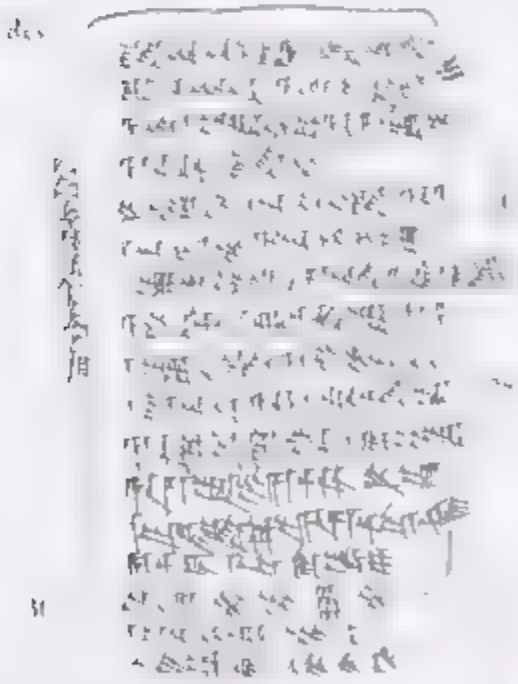
[illegible]

When [illegible] remarried her paternal uncle in Dar 10, there existed already a [illegible] between her and his kin. The year before Nergal-usallim had agreed to give [illegible] Bēl-ksur (Tab ut's brother

No. 4: FLP 628 (Sippar, Dar [illegible])

[illegible]





Translation

[illegible] Nerg[illegible] Mu[illegible] has [illegible] (the following items) with his daughter [illegible]-banā to Bel-ksur/Bel-[illegible]-ddin [illegible] šeqels, a wooden bed and [illegible]

[illegible] Witnesses: [illegible] Nergal-šeddin/Balāṭu, Nabû-nādin-[illegible] [illegible] Nergal-[illegible] Mu[illegible]

[illegible] king of Babylon and the [illegible]

[illegible]

Commentary

The text is very corrupt. (3 [illegible]

5 A *kiskū* [illegible] Dar 530; Roth, AfO 36/37 [illegible]

5–6 The wor[illegible] derived fr[illegible]

7 [illegible]

[illegible] Šumma alu text lists all the items that were to be included as Sin-ba's dowry. Apart from a [illegible] cooking vessels, lamps and clothes, the [illegible] dowry [illegible] reflect a certain [illegible] to Bel-iksur. This [illegible] deceased brother Bel-iddin, the [illegible] Nuhšu [illegible] as we know. He would strengthen family ties with Bel-iksur, optimally concealing them with [illegible] Nuhšu [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] endogamous tendencies in this family were even more pervading. Let us switch [illegible] Bel-[illegible] seems to have re-entered the sphere of influence of her father's kin. In the following [illegible] Nuhšu [illegible] marriage [illegible]

[illegible] Bel-[illegible] Nuhšu [illegible]

Re'ru and Kalbu

[illegible] of this marriage would fit more properly in section VII (Hints at [illegible] Mastuk [illegible] named Nuptu Kalbu/Mastuk concerning the dowry of a certain Re'ru. Some [illegible] Bel-[illegible] Nuhšu [illegible]

[illegible] Nuhšu [illegible]

he was Bēl-iddin's sister. This is I understand, the text correction. Bēl-iddin's sister 'Re'ûtu had been married to Kalba-Masuku, who be interred from Nippur, [illegible] possibly an endogamous marriage as they share the same family name, and in the context of this family one would not be surprised.

4. The composition of the archive

The composition of the archive reflects the family history. Tablets were [illegible] and organized under [illegible] appears that [illegible] separate sections:

(1) The first twelve tablets record business activities and purchases of the Mastuk branch from Apla down to Bēl-iddin. The focus is clearly on Bēl-iddin and the second one, Cyr 07 (JCS 28 no. 13) with his death in the tablet of his brother Nergal-[illegible] dated to Nbn 16 (FLP 1597) might have been inserted later on (see below).

(2) The next 24 tablets, dated between Camb 02 and Dar 10, concern three persons: Ardia, his widowed sister 'Busasa and his wife 'Tablut. The tablets of Ardia end abruptly in Da 10 (presumably his death). This group consists mainly of debt notes and receipts, in addition to an exchange contract of cattle (FLP 633), a house rental [illegible] Nbk 2 [illegible] sale of a house. The tablets of 'Busasa [illegible] the transfer of her daughter [illegible] summoning of a witness to the purchase of a house (FLP 1467). 'Tablut's tablet is the debt note FLP 1473 (no. 2). It is important to note that no tablets of Iddin-Bēl (Ardia's son) are present in this group, nor any tablets of his father that may have been of any value to him, except [illegible] for his [illegible]. Another important feature is the complete absence of Mastuk tablets at this stage of the archive.

(3) [illegible] last section of the archive consists of seven tablets concerning Bēl-ksur, the son of 'Busasa and Bēl-iddin, and to a lesser extent his brother Ina-qibi-Bēl. This section starts [illegible] Dar 07 with the [illegible] and ends in Dar 29 (JCS 28 no. 58).

Section 1 [illegible] part of the archive was left by Bēl-iddin at his death. A [illegible] his brother Nergal-[illegible] took over the management of the family property [illegible] Nergal-usallim's archive [illegible] his sons, Labur or Bēl-ittannu. In the meantime, Bēl-iddin's widow and his children were probably residing with Ardia, who had married a daughter of Bēl-iddin (Section 2). The tablets of Ardia [illegible] were left by his widow to Bēl-iddin's son Bēl-ksur, [illegible] Section 2 does not [illegible] Labur died, both women [illegible] to Nergal-usallim's household when 'Tablut married him in Dar 10. In the meantime, Bēl-ksur ('Busasa's son and heir of Bēl-iddin) had married 'Šin-banâ, a daughter of Nabû-[illegible] Section 3. [illegible] would have received the tablets belonging to the earlier sections, possibly from Nergal-usallim, as well as the tablets of his mother and those of Ardia, maybe after 'Tablut had died. The tablet of Nergal-usallim referred to above concerns the vindication of a slave and might have entered Bēl-ksur's archive through his wife 'Šin-banâ, who brought a slave with her as part of her dowry.

[illegible] family history.

5. Conclusion

[illegible] grade and twice the fourth grade. Motives leading to these marriages seem to vary from case to case: financial as well as social considerations can be recognised.

[illegible]

Although the genealogy of the Bābilu–Mastuk family is unique, similar endogamous [illegible] evidence from the archive of Tabnea/Šangû-Šamaš of Sippar points in this direction.

[illegible] be looking at is A. Bongenaar's branch II[48] who left an extensive archive consisting of at least 34 tablets dated between Nbk 01 and Dar 36. Four generations are documented:

1. Iqīša and Šamaš-šumu-lišir, sons of Šamaš-[illegible]
2. Bēl-abbē-iddin and Etel-pî-Šamaš, sons of Šamaš-šumu-lišir
3. [illegible] Marduk [illegible] children of Etel-pî-Šamaš
4. Iddin-Bēl, Ea-udammiq and Tabnea, sons of Iqīša-Marduk

[illegible]

[illegible] simultaneous marriage of ʿTašmētu-damqat, daughter of Etel-pî-Šamaš, and her [illegible] the background of AnM 57 could be the age difference between ʿTašmētu-damqat and her brother Iqīša-Marduk. Nearly twenty years separate her marriage (AnM [illegible]) from [illegible] Bongenaar [illegible] to consider [illegible] the [illegible] Šamaš-šumu-lišir [illegible] from [illegible] marriages.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *the [illegible]*

[illegible]

VII Hints at endogamy

[illegible] family name (which will not be the case if they are cross-cousins or related in the [illegible]

VIII Conclusion

The Mesopotamian evidence has drawn attention to the existence of cross-cousin marriage as known from the Neo-Babylonian period. [illegible] must have been a fairly common practice. Most marriages were contracted within the kin group of descent, with the exception of the [illegible]

13 Roth, AOAT [illegible]

[illegible] M. Roth's article on the Neo-Babylonian dowry in AfO 36/37; Joannès, *Archives*; Rutten, RA 41; and Kessler, AUWE 8

or with the daughter of a father's brother. Endogamy in the female line of descent was exceptional, thus far represented by one case only where a man married his sister's daughter (Tabiut and Ardia).

Marrying a blood relative was not normal practice, at least not in the propertied circles whose archives document it. Consanguineous endogamy can be defined as the way a family chose to react on a problem that was threatening to the continued well-being of the family or some of its members. The nature of the problems leading to endogamy could vary. The absence of a male heir was a vital problem. Several solutions were at hand to react to such situations, e.g. adoption. If there was a daughter, endogamy became one of several possibilities. Many endogamous marriages through the paternal line of descent have to be seen in this context. Tabiut's case is the most obvious example, but we have seen other marriages fitting this model, Tašmētu-damqat for example, and maybe ʾAmīltu-šīndu and Lītatu as well. When a husband died and left behind wife and children, this could constitute a social as well as a financial problem to both widow and the family, especially if the children were too young to inherit. It seems reasonable that families wanted to keep their young heirs near at hand. Here again consanguineous endogamy is one of several options (e.g. Tabiut's first marriage), affinal endogamy (e.g., the Ea-rīmu-bānī archive) being another.

Problems of inheritance, childlessness and widowhood are situations of distress leading to endogamy. To truly understand the practice it should be valued in relation to the other ways in which a family might react to such problems, i.e. adoption, affinal endogamy, donations, producing a testament, etc., a purpose much beyond the scope of the present article.

INDEX TO NO. 1–4

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Du sollst nicht darüber spotten: eine Abschrift der 10. Tafel von aru àm ma ir ra bi

Michaela Weszeli — Wien

[illegible]

Der hier edierte Text ist eine Abschrift der 10. Tafel d[illegible] „die Stadt, die geplündert wurde"[3]. Die Tafel setzt sich aus de[illegible] BM 51065 182 3-2 [illegible] le aus der Sippar-Sammlung des Britis[illegible] Rassams Grabungen. BM 78904 wurde von I.M. S[illegible] deutlich, daß der Antikenhändler I.M. S[illegible] ntob (und nicht nur er) seine Tafeln direkt von den Grabungen b[illegible] haben muß, die Tafeln offensichtlich noch vor Ort von den Arbeitern abgezweigt wurd[illegible]

Die [illegible] ben. Durch BM 50313+ ist der [illegible] bekannt. Er beträgt in dieser Z[illegible] ohne die akkadische Übersetzung mitzurechnen 42 Zeilen. BM 50313+ ist teilweise [illegible] k abgerieben und abgebrochen und bietet daher [illegible] zu Beispiel [illegible]

1 Zu ihren Vertretern gehörten neben Roger Fry u.a. Vanessa und Clive Bell, Dora Carrington, Lytton Strachey sowie Virginia und Leonard Woolf.
2 Zitat nach Frances Spalding, Character Sketches. The Bloomsbury Group, 5.
3 Zum Namen des Iṣdaḫ-Liedes s. Volk. FAOS 18.
4 Die beiden letzteren Fragmente werden bereits von Volk. FAOS 18, 6 als zu dieser Tafel gehörig bezeichnet.
5 [illegible]
6 Lieblich, CBT 6, xxxii und Lieblich *et al.*, CBT 8 [illegible]

[illegible] bekannte *Hunger, Kolophone*[1] und zeigt bis zum Datum nichts [illegible]. Der Schreiber der Kopie ist der Klagesängerlehrling Šamaš-ubalit, Sohn [illegible] Unsicherheit in Bezug auf die Korrektheit bzw. die Vollständigkeit der Abschrift [illegible]

[illegible] Der [illegible]zierte Kolophon zeigt aber, daß er noch kein routinierter Schreiber war. Die [illegible] ist unregelmäßig, etc. Andere [illegible] findet sich hier erstmals außerhalb lex kal[illegible]

[illegible] der Kolophon jedoch die „Wissenschaftlichkeit" [illegible] der Meinung, daß sein Werk nicht de[illegible] Arbeit gewissenhaft erledigt, nun sind die Kollegen gefordert. Über schlechte Arbeit zu lachen, ist leicht, es besser zu machen, ist [illegible] Original" einer [illegible]

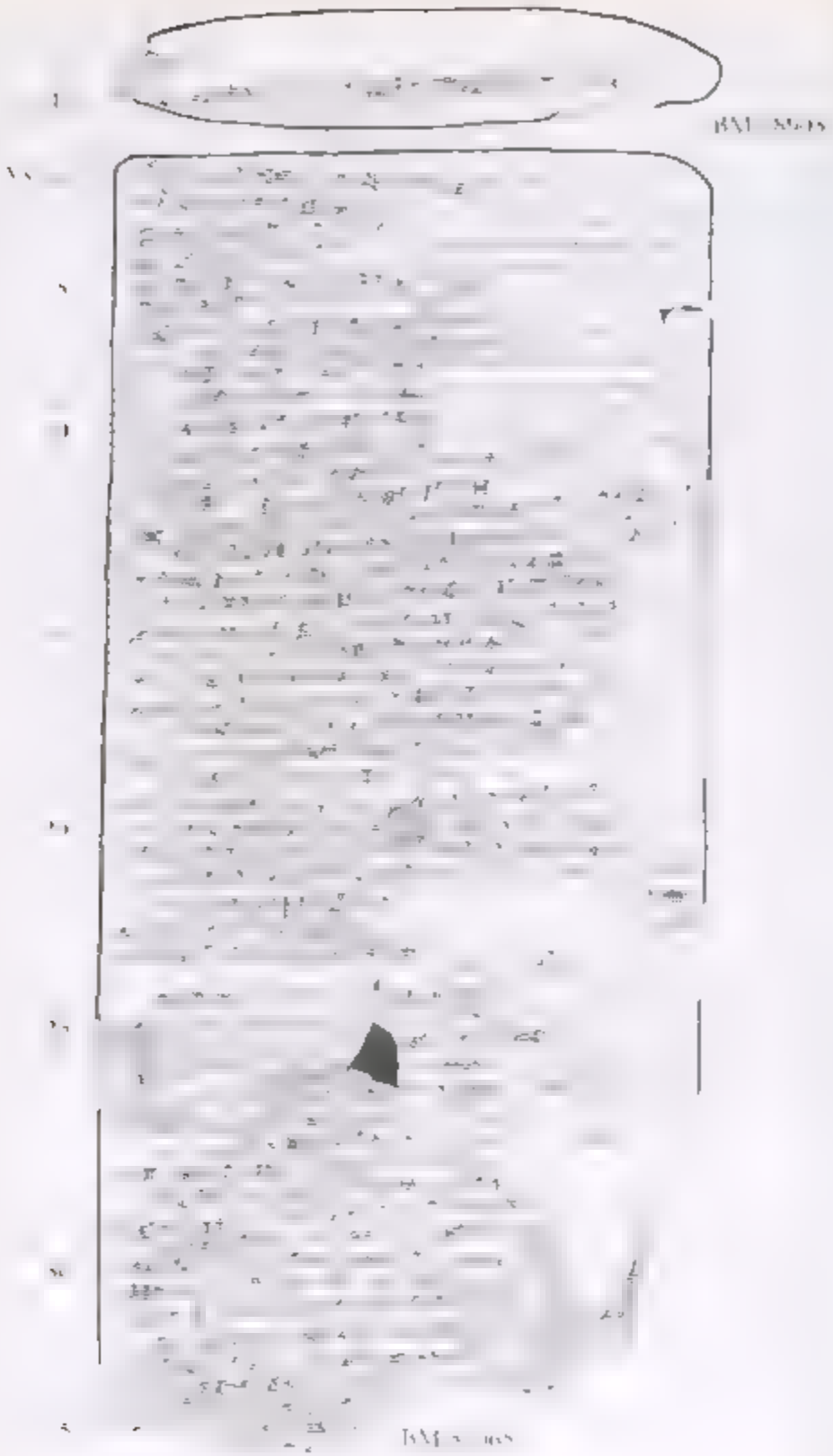
[illegible] Hunger, *Kolophone* 498, die aber wesentlich knapper formuliert wurde. Ähnlich wie [illegible] Erwartungshaltung [illegible] Wer sie [illegible] gesehen. Wer sie [illegible] schon [illegible] wird [illegible]

uru àm.ma.ir.ra.bi. 10. Tafel
BM 50313 [illegible] **BM 51065** [illegible] **BM 78903** [illegible]

Auf [illegible] die erste Bearbeitung der [illegible] nach der Ausgabe Civils, wobei die akkad[illegible] b" bezeichnet sind.

R [illegible]
vs. 1 a mu.tin na.ag.nuruš a.na.a mu.tin [illegible] men unug^ki ga na.men
[illegible]
3 sag.ga gašan [illegible]
4 [illegible]
5 gašan dub.sar.maḫ 'nin guruš' 'x x
6 nin [illegible] lu' [illegible] [illegible]
7 unug^ki [ku] [illegible] al bi in el [illegible] de mu.tin unug^ki.ga na.men
[illegible]
8 [é 'a' ra.h ke₄ al
9 [é du₇ [su₇ ba.ke₄ al
10 [du₆.bad.tibira^ki ke₄ al
[illegible]
12 unug^ki.ga na.men unug^ki.ga 'na.men mu.tin men' m,e.e
[illegible]

[illegible]
1 Person
11 A = Langdon [illegible] B = [illegible]
12 F joint A, s. Black, BiOr 44 50. Es fehlen [illegible]



13 ti nugᵇ é.gi, a.bi na.men m[u t in men sag dul, a.na unu g[illegible]
b [illegible]
14 kul aba [illegible]
b [illegible]
15 é mlu sila.da.ma.al.la.as> de ib.lá mu.un.mén me.e lun [illegible]
b [illegible]
16 sila' kul aba,ᵇ ka aš de ib.lá mu un' mèn 'me.e
in tu.ud.da.ma in tu.ud.da.ma mu 'un mèn' GIS
17 [illegible]
18 [illegible] D [x x] ama' mu in.tu ud da ma mu un mèn ma
b [illegible]
19 dulmu.zi ama mu in. tlu.[ud] 'da' ma mu.un mèn
20 in' 'tu ud' mun hé bi gá gá [illegible] in tu ud mu.un mèn
21 ba an tu ud ab sag ga.gá ba an tu ud mu un.mèn mta
22 tu.ud ba šu mu lul B.GÁ DU' x 'mu un.mèn'l [illegible] 'x x
b [illegible]
23 ib x x me.ri sag gá x a [illegible] l mèn
24 n da gur.gur in.da ra.'zé zé' [mu un mèn
[illegible]
[illegible]
25 u.bí.mu'[illegible].ti
[illegible]
26 [illegible]
unu' mu u.da bi mu
[illegible]
28 nun úru ta ezen ma.al 'la ta
b [illegible]
29 [illegible]
b [illegible]
30 [illegible]
b [illegible]
32 [illegible]
b [illegible]
33 mu šu gan ᵉdumu.'zi'.da ke.'mu [un mèn
34 [illegible]
b [illegible]
35 [illegible]
b [illegible]
36 [illegible]
b [illegible]
37 [illegible]
b [illegible]
38 [illegible]
b [illegible]

Ka

BM Sc 15

BM Sc 15

Rs. 39 [illegible]

b [illegible]

40 [ᵈdumu.zli mu.lu am.gan- ná.a.ra mu tin men ù 'nu] mu un

41 sag šen še]n na sag zabar.ra m[u].un.'men' nu.uš / mu.un da.'ab. sú m

42 anse¹ ¹na] tu lu ba.na mu tin.men nu.uš 'mu un

43 Rasur

44 *ki-ma* sumun *sin* giš *ma* igi kar *ma* šu ¹ ᵈuru-*u-bi* [illegible]

45 dumu ᵈpa-ur[u₄ ᵈ]ᶠšáman.lá¹ ᵈuš [illegible]

46 [illegible]

47 bu-kur ᵈen-*e-tè-ri* ¹šu ᵈ50

48 [illegible]

49 *dan-nu* <ex> dingir^ma *be* [illegible]

50 [illegible]

51 [illegible]

52 nibru^ki^ab ud 12 kam mu.an na

53 [illegible]

54 [illegible] tin tir^ki *u* ᵈen lil-*bi-ni*

55 [illegible]

56 [illegible]

57 *gab-bi gi-gur -ru* ¹*ld* [illegible] *tup p*

58 [illegible]

59 [illegible]

60 [illegible]

61 [illegible]

62 [illegible]

63 [illegible]

64 [illegible]

Übersetzung des Kolophon

41–49 Gemäß seinem Original [illegible] und geprüft (mit der Hand) von Šamaš-[illegible]-balāṭ, Sohn von Nabû-ēṭir-[illegible] geschrieben. Tafel des Nabû-zēr-lišir, Erstgeborener [illegible] Klagesänger' von Enlil und Ninlil, der ich auf Ninurta, den Starken [illegible] den Göttern, meinen (Wort), seinen Herr[illegible]

50f Ninurta [illegible] und nicht zurückbringt.

52–55 Nippur, 12. X. 7 Šamaš-<šum>-ukīn, König von Babylon, und Enlil-bani, der Gouverneur.

55–64 Niemand soll folgendermaßen sprechen: „Warum dies alles?" Wenn die Winkelhaken der Tafel [illegible] und habe ich sie (getreu) abgeschrieben. Wenn [illegible] sollst darüber nicht sporten! Sie ist (in ihrer Gänze) so zuverlässig wie ihre [illegible] diese ist wie ihre Winkel[illegible]

[illegible] Mein Herz wird auf Dauer [illegible] Fragment E zu lesen [illegible] ist vielleicht [illegible]

[illegible] (staunendes) Anschauen (AHw [illegible]

[illegible] Das Ende der Zeile kann ich nicht [illegible]

[illegible] Die akkadische Übersetzung scheint [illegible] an die sumerische [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] Bruder, den man wie einen W[illegible] hat als Verb [illegible] mit einem N-Stamm von [illegible] emendieren? Die [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] da sie sich jeweils wiederholen und [illegible]

[illegible] Zur die Schreibung [illegible] für *kanu* [illegible] üblicheren [illegible] vgl. Hunger *Kolophone* S. 164 [illegible]

18 Der Relativsatz ist aus grammatikalischen [illegible] auf den Besitzer der Tafel, Nabû-zēr-[illegible] zu beziehen [illegible] worden. Inhaltlich bezieht er sich aber sicherlich auf den Schreiber selbst. Die [illegible] des Relativsatzes verwirrte unseren Schreiber offensichtlich. Das Suffix des Nom[illegible] Sg., das Verb steht aber in [illegible] sich selbst in der 3. Person [illegible] Rückbezügen auf [illegible] Solche Konstruktionen [illegible] Vorbereitung durch M. [illegible] vgl. aber ein ähnliches Problem in [illegible] die sich auf ein Personalpronomen der 1. oder 2. Person [illegible] *Syntax and* [illegible]

20f Z[illegible]

[illegible] Die Ungeschicklichkeit des Schreibers zeigt sich [illegible] und nur so [illegible] essen, die ersten beiden Keil[illegible] [illegible] halte ich den sehr [illegible] das Amt [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] der Name des Zeichens [illegible] Zeichen GUR eher wie LAGAB [illegible] chen Texten bekannt und wird [illegible] *giguru* niemals syllabisch, sondern [illegible] geschrieben. Das W[illegible] sich aus dem sumerischen gi-gur-ra „[illegible] Schreibung mit „verdoppeltem r“ läßt uns A[illegible] statt *giguru* ansetzen; vgl. parallele Entlehnungen aus dem Sumerischen w[illegible] *ummânu, mutillu*.[45] oder s. die Wörterbücher unter *gizillû*, [illegible] das bei weitem häufigere [illegible] zurückzuhalten sein, auch ungeläufige Wörter zu kennen und [illegible] die lexikalischen Texte, die *giguru* anführen, waren Teil des Schulcurriculums).[46] [illegible] Winkelhaken ist neben dem Keil ebenfalls die kleinste Einheit eines Zeichens.[47] Ob „W[illegible]

[illegible] S. die Diskussion in CAD G, 70 sub *giguru* A.

[illegible] AOAT [illegible]

[illegible] Ea, Aa und S[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Vol. [illegible]

[illegible]

Rel. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Anmerkungen

= [illegible]

= [illegible]

Die bekannten Exemplare der 10. Tafel von uru ani ma ir ra bi geben folgende Zeilen:

A(+)E	(nB):	1 a–b ..... 20 [21 22] 23 .....42 (+ Stichzeile)
D	(nB):	1 b–a ..... 35 b [36–38 b] 39 .. 42 (keine Stichzeile)
B	(nA):	28 ss
C	(nB)	[illegible]

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[illegible] K.
ISI [illegible] Abteilung I [illegible] *Texten*. Band I [illegible] *sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* [illegible] Texten [illegible]

PNA Radner K. / Baker H. D. Hrsg. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* [illegible] 1998 [illegible]

Radner [illegible]
JCS [illegible] Texts JCS [illegible] 1989 42 [illegible]

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„Du hast meinen Sohn geschlagen!"*

Cornelia Wunsch — Tübingen und Kansas City

[illegible] gerichtlichem oder außergerichtlichem [illegible] Wege [illegible] Terminologie in die Kategorie Strafrecht fallen würde: Diebstahl, Mord und Totschlag, [illegible] Details des Prozeßrechts weitgehend im Dunkeln bleiben [illegible] sicherte Urkunde keine Ausnahme. Formal gesehen handelt es sich [illegible] eine Bürgschaftsurkunde [illegible]

[illegible] Publikationserlaubnis für BM [illegible]

1 Die moderne Unterscheidung von Strafrecht und Privatrecht [illegible] nicht in den Keilschriftrechten, dazu J. Renger, JESHO 20 (1977), 66, unter Berufung auf D. Nörr. Einige spektakuläre Fälle sind [illegible] Fauna-Archiv bekannt, etwa der Prozeß gegen den Tempelfunktionär Gimillu, dem zahlreiche Delikte, Betrügereien und [illegible] ArOr 51. Beispiele dafür, daß Diebstahl [illegible] bestraft wurde, hat ebenfalls San Nicolò zusammengestellt: ArOr 4, 325–348; eine Auswahl bei Joannès, *Rendre la justice*, 211–225, Nr. 155–156. Laut TCL 12, 117 hat jemand gegen einen hohen Tempelbeamten den Dolch gezückt, selbst von einer Gefängnismeuterei wissen die Quellen zu berichten (San Nicolò, *Fs Weniger*). Das Opfer eines Raubüberfalls benennt vor den *mār banê* die [illegible] wegen „Schmerzens" (*ṣerū*) verhängte Strafe verrechnet. In BM 79049 (Wunsch, AoF 24) [illegible] Richtern des Königs [illegible] habender Babylonier als Schuldner, der, nachdem er einen anderen verprügelt und ihm eine schwere Wunde im Gesicht geschlagen [illegible] 30 ŠE verpflichtet wird. In der [illegible] publizierten Urkunde BM 64153 (Jursa, *Fs Cavigneaux*) geben Zeugen [illegible] rung zu Protokoll, was sie gesehen [illegible] Körperverletzung aus früheren P[illegible] Wilcke in Xenia 32 zusammengestellt; des weiteren ist auf die RIA Artikel [illegible] Ries, RIA 5) und „Mord" (Alster, RlA 8), einschließlich neuassyrische [illegible]

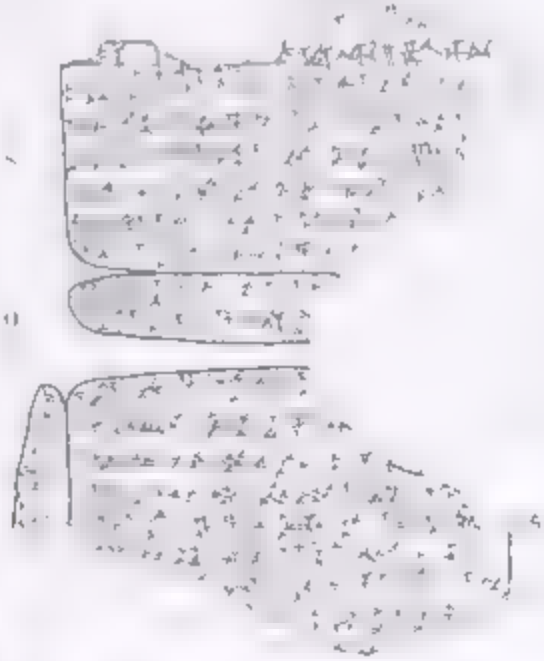
[illegible]

[illegible] Beginn und Ende des Textes nicht erhalten. [illegible] dieser Mäßlichkeiten läßt sie zumindest [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] zum Ankauf 81-8-[illegible]

BM 46660 (81-8-30,126)
Kopie von Makel



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Rest weggebrochen

Rs. 1'' [illegible]-*upahhir*(NI) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] und einen Rechtsstreit. Ida [illegible] sagt: Meinen Sohn hast du geschlagen [illegible] Rechtsstreit [illegible] er, d.h. Marduk-šarrānu, anstreiten.

Nabû-zera-ukīn], Sohn des Ahhušina [illegible] Schwester [illegible] für Kinaja. [Wenn Kinaja (bis dahin) entflohen [illegible] ssur[...] (die Kompensationszahlung für) den Tod des [Marduk-šarrānu] [illegible]

Zeugen [...]/Ibnaia-Rab-bani [illegible]

Schreiber [illegible]

Ausstellungsort weggebrochen, wahrscheinlich [illegible]

Kommentar

[illegible]

Die Bemerkungen

[illegible]

[illegible]

Schwester sein (wenn sich das Suffix, wie vorgeschlagen, auf Kinū [illegible] bezieht) [illegible] ihr Genannten haben wir dann wohl ihren Ehemann zu sehen. Au[illegible] [illegible] Umfeld des Täters suchen.

Der Vorfa[illegible]

[illegible] sage Tötung handeln.[9]

[illegible]

---

[5] CAD M/1, 73 s.v. *mâtu* 1; zum selben Problem bei Verwendung von *dâkum*, *nêrum*, [illegible] Wilcke, Xenia 32, 53.

[6] Vgl. Wilcke, Xenia 32, 53: „Zwischen »Töten«, Totschlag und Mord wird begrifflich nich[t] [illegible]

[7] Man hatte dies anders formuliert. In Kodex Hammurapi § 206f. (Roth, *Law Collections* 122) [illegible] Schlag nicht beabsichtigt wa[r] [illegible]

[8] [illegible] stirbt, muß ihr Wert doppelt ersetzt werden; kamen gar Frau oder Kind des Schuldners zu Tode, [illegible]

[9] [illegible]

[10] Dies geht aus Musterungslisten, wie sie die Tempelverwaltungen erstellten, hervor (Jursa, *Land* [illegible] 8ff. mit Verweis auf Waetzoldt, AoF 15, 40 für denselben Befund während der Ur III-Zeit. Unpublizierte Musterungslisten aus dem Egibi-Archiv erwa[illegible]

Marduk-šarra[illegible] Sohn [illegible] Mardukšumiddin, der Schreiber [illegible] des Merešu in Kinapa[illegible] [illegible] hat [illegible] Es wird [illegible] zu denken. Von Schlagen als solcher [illegible] der [illegible] zu [illegible] gewesen sein.

[illegible]

Mardukšarra[illegible] [illegible] Kinapa[illegible] und seine Sachverständigen [illegible] mit Worten verfassen.

[illegible] prägnanten Aspekt [illegible] Zwar geben sie für verschiedene Fälle, in denen ein Mensch durch [illegible] Schlag [illegible] Schlagen [illegible] wurde, einzelne Sachfragen unserer Kommission [illegible] Körperverletzung gewisser S[illegible] [illegible] Körpers [illegible] eine Körperverletzung [illegible] Hohe verbandelbar war oder durch [illegible]

[illegible] Forderungen über *dāmu* „Blutschuld" [illegible] Verpflichtungen [illegible] der Partei des Opfers das Recht auf Rache zu [illegible]

[illegible] privaten An[illegible] die uns vorliegende Urkunde BM 46660 [illegible] Die Partei des Opfers hat den Täter offiziell (d. h. vor Zeugen [illegible] Kläger [illegible] sollte. Er hat noch keine [illegible] Gericht zu geben. Dessen Aufgabe würde es

[illegible]

[illegible] strafrechtlichen Konsequen[illegible] sind z. T. entsprechend dem [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] zu untersuchen [illegible] Ansprüche [illegible] Die geschädigte Partei hat [illegible] und [illegible] der Kompensation [illegible] interessiert.

Hier lohnt es sich einen Blick auf die Urkunde Nbk 365 zu werfen, in der es um einen getöteten Sklaven geht. Der Text lautet:

> Am 5. Kislim wird PN seine Zeugen in Pinuda beibringen und dem PN₁ nachweisen, daß PN₁ zu PN (seine [illegible] seinen Sklaven, der [illegible] Kompensation für das Leben [illegible] Mine Silber, den Kaufpreis seines Sklaven, PN₁ an PN zahlen. Wenn er [illegible] beweist, geht er frei.[17]

[illegible] der gesamten [illegible] Vorbereitung [illegible] eine Kompensationsleistung [illegible] Zeugen [illegible] die Kompensationsleistung [illegible]

[illegible] BM [illegible] Schuldgefängnis [illegible] Schwiegersohn [illegible]

Während die Höhe der Zahlung im Falle des Sklaven genannt ist und mit der runden Summe von einer Mine Silber etwa dem Kaufpreis eines Sklaven entspricht, bleibt die Entschädigung für Marduk-šarrani-[illegible] offen. Hier konnte, etwa unter der Androhung, anderfalls den Sohn des Täters zu töten oder zu versklaven, die Höhe entsprechend Stellung und Vermögen der Parteien [illegible]

Zunächst [illegible] Kompensationszahlung [illegible] Zeugen[18]. In vergleichbarer Weise [illegible] regelmäßig [illegible] Mine Silber als Gegenwert [illegible] Wenn [illegible] Abmachungen [illegible] gegeben [illegible] Kompensationsleistungen [illegible] Korruption [illegible] Personen [illegible] Schuldgefängnis [illegible] Leben [illegible]

17 *ṣa-ki'* (kollativ) [illegible] schon bei Peiser, BR. 2, 3.

18 Caroline Wa[illegible] wofür ich ihr sehr herzlich danke. Die Urkunden wurden [illegible] Marduk-rēmanni bearbeitet; die Publikation soll demnächst erfolgen. [illegible] Budge in ZA 3, 22 publiziert und ist in CAD B, [illegible] gehörigen und erhebuch bedeutsameren Verpflichtungsschein BM [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Gruppe „ehrenwerter Bürger" [illegible] Schiedsgerichtlichen Einigung d[illegible] [illegible] danach an die „Richter des Königs" weite[illegible] [illegible] die meisten Prozeß[illegible] [illegible] Kontext von Privatarchiven [illegible] Zustandigkeit der königlichen [illegible] Hause wurde [illegible] anderen geschlagen und [illegible] Formulars, sie ist al[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] Mar [illegible] AoF [illegible]

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